



**KOREA
IS ONE**

KOREA IS ONE

As Foreigners Tell

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Foreign guests visiting Panmunjom shout: "US imperialism obstructing Korea's reunification, get out of south Korea!"





In Japan



In Sweden

Solidarity demonstrations are held in many countries of the world in support of the Korean people's struggle for national reunification



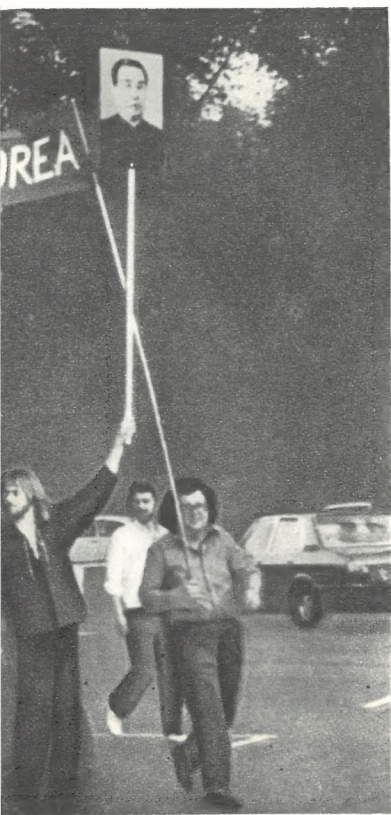
In Somalia



**In West
Germany**



Citizens of Detroit
the United States
marching through
the streets, shout-
ing slogans de-
manding the pull-
out of the US
troops from south
Korea



Citizens of Copenhagen, Denmark, parading in demand of the withdrawal of US imperialism from south Korea and in support of the independent peaceful reunification of Korea

West Berlin citizens demonstrating against the machinations of US imperialism and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique to unleash a new war





Demonstrators of the Delhi Youth Federation of India marching towards the US embassy in New Delhi, carrying placards with inscriptions demanding the US troops' withdrawal from south Korea



Japanese people in all walks of life holding a demonstration against the war provocation machination of the US imperialists, shouting: "US imperialism, hands off Korea!"



New Yorkers of the United States are out on the streets, shouting, "The US Department of Defence and the Wall Street, hands off Korea!"





Citizens of Stockholm, Sweden, parading in front of the puppet south Korean embassy in Sweden, demanding the withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea

EDITOR'S NOTE

The Korean people, who as a homogeneous nation lived in the same territory for thousands of years, have been experiencing the agony of national division for over 30 years on account of outside forces.

To put an end to outside interference and reunify the divided fatherland is the unanimous desire of the Korean people and a supreme national task the fulfilment of which brooks not a moment's delay.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made every sincere effort to achieve the independent reunification of the country. However, Korea still remains divided due to the "two Koreas" machination and new war provocation manoeuvres of the US authorities and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique.

Convinced that Korea's reunification will be realized without fail in accordance with the three principles and five-point programme of national reunification laid down by the great leader President Kim Il Sung, today the progressive personages in the world are expressing their wholehearted support to and firm solidarity with the Korean people's just cause of independent, peaceful national reunification.

Compiled in this book are some of articles written and speeches made by foreigners in recent years in support of the Korean people's just cause.

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PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG—PIVOT OF NATIONAL REUNIFICATION AND GREAT LEADER OF THE ENTIRE KOREAN PEOPLE



Dr. ALBERTO TAURO DEL PINO

**Chairman of the Peruvian National Writers
and Artists Association**

The Korean people, as is known to the world public, are a homogeneous nation. Through thousands of years of history they have lived bearing out the uniformity in language, culture and custom on the same territory and displaying their national wisdom and honour.

Nevertheless, the Korean nation has been undergoing the suffering of split up to this date since the country was artificially divided into two parts 32 years ago.

In September 1945 after the Second World War the US imperialists occupied south Korea on the pretext of disarmament of vanquished Japanese imperialism.

The division of the country throws obstacles in the way of its uniform development and even the common national characters formed through long history are gradually being differen-

tiated.

With the passage of time the situation becomes aggravated and the tragedy of north-south division increases. The parents, wives and children, relatives and friends living separated in the north and south cannot even write to each other about their lives, to say nothing of being unable to meet though they are close by.

To end this tragedy of split as early as possible and reunify the divided country is the supreme national task facing the Korean people and an urgent revolutionary task which does not allow even a moment's delay.

Basing himself on a profound analysis of the historical environment of the country's division, Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, gave a scientific exposition of the nature of national reunification.

President Kim Il Sung said:

"The question of our country's reunification is essentially a question of taking back the territory and population seized by the foreign imperialists and ensuring national sovereignty on a national scale."

As President Kim Il Sung said, the question of reunifying Korea is not simply a question of bringing the separated people together, but a question of taking back the territory and the people seized by the foreign imperialists and ensuring the sovereignty of the Korean nation on a national scale.

President Kim Il Sung indicated the most correct and just solution to the question of Korea's reunification.

He taught:

"We have maintained and still maintain that the question of Korea's reunification should be solved by the Korean people themselves on democratic principles, by peaceful means, and independently, without any foreign interference."

In accordance with this basic line the Government of the DPRK has advanced most reasonable proposals for reunification on more than 150 occasions up to present since the country's division; and done its utmost to put them into effect. These

proposals involve all problems, big and small, related to national reunification ranging from the establishment of a unified government and the holding of a free general north-south election to the withdrawal of the foreign troops, the institution of a north-south confederation, economic and cultural interchange between the north and south, the reduction of armed forces, mutual visit of individual persons and communication.

Thanks to the persevering and invariable efforts of the DPRK the north-south dialogue started in 1971 and the North-South Joint Statement based on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity laid down by the great leader President Kim Il Sung was announced on July 4, 1972.

The Government of the DPRK made various reasonable proposals for the purpose of realizing the North-South Joint Statement and rendered every sincere effort for it.

Particularly, in his historic speech made on June 23, 1973 the great leader President Kim Il Sung put forward the five-point program for national reunification, thereby indicating the way for preventing the danger of permanent division of Korea and accelerating the country's independent, peaceful reunification.

The keynote of this five-point program involves the following propositions: to eliminate military confrontation and ease the tension between the north and south, to materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and south, to convene a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life, political parties and public organizations in the north and south, to institute a north-south Confederation under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, and to enter the UN as a single state under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo.

At the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Workers' Party of Korea held in October 1975 the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung again set forth a wise policy and fighting task for replacing the Armistice

Agreement with a peace agreement on condition that the US troops are withdrawn from south Korea, forming a national united front for the whole country and instituting a north-south Confederation.

As seen above, all the proposals of the Government of the DPRK, without exception, are the most reasonable and realistic ones for eliminating outside interference and achieving the country's independent, peaceful reunification. Firmly based on Juche, they overflow with President Kim Il Sung's warm affection for the nation based on his patriotic stand.

However, none of them could be materialized due to the "two-Koreas" scheme and new war plot of the US and south Korean authorities, and grave obstacles still lie in the way of the reunification of the north and south.

Immediately after pledging solemnly to execute in earnest the North-South Joint Statement before the entire nation the south Korean authorities clamoured: "We cannot place our destiny on such a few pieces of paper and believe it." And they refused the principles and points agreed upon in the Joint Statement one after another.

In flagrant violation of the independent principle of achieving national reunification by the efforts of the Korean people themselves, without relying on foreign forces, they are tenaciously clinging to the policy of depending on outside forces, saying: "The UN troops are not a foreign force and the US army should stay long in south Korea."

They are also arbitrarily violating the principle of attaining great national unity transcending the differences in ideology, ideal and system.

In disregard of the points advocated in the North-South Joint Statement and the starting of the north-south dialogue they are bent on whipping up the wave of "anti-communism" and the idea of "confrontation," saying: There is no ground and reason whatsoever for us to abrogate the "Anti-Communist Law" and the "State Security Law"; We cannot live together with Communists; We must fight to defeat them.

The south Korean authorities proclaimed "Emergency Martial Law" and other fascist evil laws in the wake of "state of emergency" and "emergency measures", and cruelly suppress the patriotic democratic figures, youth and students, and even religionists who call for democratic freedom and national re-unification.

Moreover, they arrest and jail anyone who goes against their grain, irrespective of his social position, and of whether he is a foreigner or not, by labelling him as a Communist, and torture and slaughter him pursuant to the "Anti-Communist Law" and the "State Security Law."

Missionary William Butler, American representative to Amnesty International, exposed the barbarous methods of torture used in south Korea in his "Investigation Report on South Korea" on July 7, 1974. They involve *judo* and *karate* torture making one crippled, electric shock torture making one lose consciousness, viper torture making one mad, anesthetic torture making one confess of one's own accord, torture making one go through surgical operation to remove the marks of torture-wound and die in one month or two after release, water torture, needle torture and many others whose names are still unknown to the world.

Through the so-called "Chinghiz Khan cooking" torture administered to So brothers, Japanese-born Korean students and other murderous atrocities committed by the south Korean authorities, we can see that their barbarous torture and inhuman atrocities have reached the crowning point.

They put those brothers to electric, aeroplane and water tortures and, still unsatiated with these, undressed and hung them upside down over a flame and badly burned their bodies. Thus their ears, eyelids and noses were gone, which made them even unable to wear glasses. Their fingers were glued together so that they had to use toes to write letters. After all, they became incurable cripples.

Hence, James Sinnott, an American, described Pak Jung

Hi as "the only person safe from torture in south Korea," as "the highest prison guard of south Korea."

The south Korean authorities are feverishly bent on war preparation on the pretext of the fictitious "threat of southward invasion", while committing outright treachery to the three principles of peaceful reunification outlined in the North-South Joint Statement.

They have proclaimed the "state of emergency" and channel all human and material resources to war preparation under the name of "maintaining security with general mobilization" and "fostering national strength."

From 1975 they have put up what they call "security first policy." Harping on such war slogans as "a sure victory in the first blow" and "positive attack," they hasten the "modernization of the army" and the "transformation of the Homeland Reserve Army into a regular armed force" on one hand and, on the other, perpetrate adventuristic military provocations against the northern half of the Republic almost daily.

Today the north-south dialogue has come to a deadlock and tension is coiled ever tighter in Korea due to US imperialist manipulation of the south Korean authorities.

US imperialism, proceeding from its aggressive nature, is holding on to south Korea, hampering Korea's reunification. From the first day of its occupation of south Korea it has inflicted great damage on Korea. Even after the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement and the start of the north-south dialogue it frenziedly carries on its policy of aggression and war and is dead set against peace in Korea and her independent, peaceful reunification.

It turned down the decision of the 30th UN General Assembly session on the Korean question and gave no ear to the voice of the world's progressive people calling for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. On the contrary, under the name of "commitment" to south Korea US imperialism has increased its troops stationed there, shipped in large quantities of nuclear weapons and varied operational equipment, and is

even trying to levy nuclear blackmail on the northern half of the Republic.

Besides, US imperialism, considering Japan a “cornerstone for the security of the Asian and Pacific areas,” has turned the territory of Japan including Okinawa into an operational base, into a base of supply, for a war of aggression on Korea. A clear evidence of it is found in the fact that several thousand tons of ammunition of various kinds including missiles were recently brought into south Korea from the arsenal of the US troops in Zushi, Kanagawa Prefecture.

It has also converted the whole territory of south Korea into a powder magazine and a military-drill ground and is frequently staging war exercises for attacking the northern half of the Republic in cooperation with the south Korean puppet army.

The US imperialist warmaniacs mobilized up-to-date military equipment including “F-111” fighter-bombers and large armed forces to stage successive war exercises such as the large-scale “south Korea-US educational joint operation for air offensive,” “south Korea-US joint manoeuvres”, and “south Korea-US ground-naval and naval joint exercises.”

At the same time, the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique are seeking every possible excuse for unleashing war in Korea.

In his attempt to tide over the political crisis Pak Jung Hi even fabricated the so-called “shooting incident” to kill his wife and used it for further advocating north-south confrontation. At the same time, he put up such poor shows as the “tunnel incident” and the “incident of infiltration of armed communist spies” in his effort to manufacture excuses for forcing war on the DPRK.

The enemy perpetrated military provocations one after another in the air, ground and sea along the Military Demarcation Line. All their manoeuvrings, war exercises and provocative schemes against the northern half are the most risky military action which can never be overlooked.

Who can assure that the war manoeuvres performed by the enemy under the name of "training" will not turn to a real war at a certain moment? Who can believe that these incessant partial provocations will not go over to an all-out offensive against the DPRK?

Facts show that the preparation of aggression and war by the US and south Korean authorities and their machination for fascist suppression and permanent national division have reached a very serious stage.

Now the situation of Korea is strained to the extreme, and there is a danger of war breaking out at any moment.

It is entirely due to the persevering efforts of the Government of the DPRK that peace has hitherto been maintained in Korea.

If the US imperialists ignore the repeated warnings of the peace-loving people and keep clinging to the "two-Korea" plot, they will perish once and for all.

In order to prevent war and maintain peace in Korea and accelerate her independent, peaceful reunification it is necessary above all to drive the US troops out of south Korea.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The US imperialists' occupation of south Korea and policy of aggression are the source of all the miseries of our nation and the main obstacle to Korea's reunification. If Korea is to be reunified, therefore, the US imperialist aggressors must first get out of south Korea."

Today there is no reason and ground whatsoever for the US troops to remain in south Korea. The United States, however, insists on the continual presence of its troops in south Korea, harping on the fictitious "threat of southward invasion" even at this moment when the voices of the world's peace-loving people demanding the immediate withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea are mounting ever higher.

The fictitious nature of the so-called "threat of southward invasion" has long since come to full light.

Now no one may imagine the "threat of southward inva-

sion," although there should be people who fear the threat of northward invasion from the south.

Who can believe that a small country like the DPRK is threatening south Korea which is under the wing of the United States boasting of being the "strongest" in the world?

At present the US imperialists are scheming to keep themselves in south Korea on the pretext that the withdrawal of their troops will break the "balance of forces" between the north and south and cause a big clash in no time.

This, too, is nothing but a quibbling.

It is needless to say that there will be no more danger of war when the foreign troops occupying the other country get out of it, taking all their up-to-date lethal weapons including nuclear ones with them.

The US imperialists must desist from their manoeuvres of aggression and war against the Korean people, disband the "UN Command" pursuant to the UN decision, and withdraw from south Korea at once, taking all their aggressive troops and lethal weapons. To replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement on condition that the US forces are withdrawn from south Korea is one of the fundamental questions in preventing war in Korea and achieving her independent, peaceful reunification.

Twenty-four years have elapsed since the Korean truce, but a smell of war is still lingering and the Armistice Agreement remains operative.

The question of concluding a peace agreement between the DPRK and the USA with a view to eliminating the danger of war and providing a guarantee of peace has been raised since ages ago.

The replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement is a question which can be solved only by the DPRK and the US authorities. It is because both sides are direct signatories to the Armistice Agreement, and can guarantee peace in Korea.

As a concrete step to alleviate tension between the north

and south, continue the north-south dialogue and reunify the country on the three principles of national reunification, the DPRK proposed to reduce the armed forces of the north and south respectively to 100,000 or less on condition that the US army is withdrawn from south Korea and to refrain from resorting to armed attack against each other.

The US imperialists are taking exception to the conclusion of a peace agreement under various pretexts. This is a manoeuvre, after all, to maintain their presence in south Korea on the plea of "carrying out the Armistice Agreement."

As the DPRK insists, if the United States really has the least of intention to maintain peace in Korea, it must give up its aggressive design against Korea, withdraw its troops from south Korea, and replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

At present to frustrate the "two-Korea" plot of US imperialism and its lackeys poses as a fundamental question in attaining durable peace and independent, peaceful reunification in Korea.

Tenaciously clinging to the "two-Koreas" policy, they are employing a sly artifice, prating about a "non-aggression pact" and "cross-recognition."

The patriotic Korean people do not want to live separated from each other and have their country divided permanently into two states.

Any attempt to separate into two the Korean people who have lived as a homogeneous nation in a unified state through history is a never-to-be-forgiven act which is acceptable to none.

Division is a road of war and treachery while reunification alone is a road of peace and patriotism.

We can never tolerate any movement and argument intended to split Korea and will fight against it.

Instituting a north-south Confederation is the most correct policy for promoting great national unity and expediting the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

The north-south Confederation proposed by the Govern-

ment of the DPRK is designed to organize a Great National Congress composed of the representatives of the Government of the DPRK and the south Korean authorities, leaving the two existing political systems in the north and south as they are for the time being so as to coordinate the matters of common concern of the nation in a unified way and externally act as a unified state under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo. This will render it possible to ensure the uniform development of the nation in all fields of politics, the economy, military affairs, culture and diplomacy, smoothly achieve the unity and cooperation between the north and south and speed up the complete reunification of Korea.

Invariable is the DPRK's stand toward the question of preventing the national split and reunifying the country through north-south dialogue.

The south Korean authorities, throwing off their veil, are openly opposing reunification blaring: "The tragedy of reunification is greater than that of division. It is more important to sit back in peace than to reunify the country."

They ballyhoo about "a dialogue between the countries concerned," and about "confrontation with dialogue," while raising war rackets and repressing the people without letup, viciously trying to freeze the national split.

This is nothing more than a trick to pull the wool over the eyes of the world's people by pretending to have any concern about the country's reunification.

North-south dialogue is necessary for reunification but never for split.

The south Korean authorities must come back to the spirit of the North-South Joint Statement, cast aside the policy of reliance on foreign forces and the "two-Korea" plot, stop the fascist suppression of the people, replace their policy of anti-communism with that of coalition with communism, and strive for reunification with sincerity.

Today the south Korean patriots and other people, highly respecting President Kim Il Sung as the sun of the nation,

are vigorously fighting for democratic freedom and national reunification without yielding to cruel fascist suppression by the US imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique.

If the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique continue to rely on foreign forces, intensify the fascist suppression of the patriotic people in south Korea and cling to the machinations for national split and war provocation, they will not escape the stern judgment by history and the people as arch traitors to the nation.

The Korean people's struggle for national reunification is an important part of the world-wide anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle today.

Their struggle to repudiate foreign interference and ensure national sovereignty on a nation-wide scale is winning absolute support and encouragement of the world's people for its validity.

In particular, the peoples of the countries of the new-emerging forces extend firm solidarity with the just struggle of the Korean people because of their common fate in the past when they suffered from oppression and exploitation and of the oneness of the struggle they are waging today.

The voices of solidarity calling for the reunification of Korea are mounting ever higher among the world's people.

Korea's reunification will certainly be attained on the basis of the three principles and the five-point programme for national reunification advanced by President Kim Il Sung.

This is the only correct way for bringing independence, freedom and sovereignty to the entire Korean people and securing peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Truly, President Kim Il Sung is the pivot of national reunification, the great leader of the entire Korean people, and a distinguished leader winning the admiration of the world's people.

No one on earth will curb the supreme desire of the Korean people for national reunification.

The people of the third world aspiring after freedom, independence and sovereignty and the peace-loving people will always stand by the Korean people.

(From *Comrade Kim Il Sung— Revolutionary Genius and Great Thinker and Theoretician*, Voluntad Publishing House, Quito, Ecuador, 1977)

NATIONAL REUNIFICATION POLICY OF THE DPRK



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This is a version of the author's article from *Korean Reunification and Human Rights* printed in 1976 by Godo Publishing House, Japan

DESIRE FOR REUNIFICATION

Korea remains divided into two, north and south, with the 38th parallel as the rough demarcation. I say "rough" because the Military Demarcation Line (in the DPRK—hereinafter referred to as the Republic—it is called the demarcation line which gives little impression of a frontier or boundary) which replaced the 38th parallel under the Armistice Agreement signed at Panmunjom on July 27, 1953, runs a little way off north of the parallel in the eastern part and south of it in the western part.

Two points can be cited to describe it most clearly: firstly, the southern part of Mt. Kumgang-san in the east where the demarcation line starts from right under the 39th parallel and, secondly, Kaesong which is situated at the entrance to Panmunjom.

Kaesong lies a little south of the 38th parallel. In the tenth century A.D. Koryo united the whole country under its sway and made this city capital for over 470 years through 34 generations. During the Korean war the gate of the time-honoured Royal Palace was bombed and the enraged citizens, it is said, wished their neutral city incorporated into the Republic.

Strong is the Korean nation's aspiration for reunification both in the north and in the south suffering the sorrow of such a division. It must be a cherished aspiration.

Some people in Japan are said to think that the division of Korea into the north and the south would rather be beneficial to Japan's security. This way of thinking finds its expression in the so-called "Korean Clause" of the Sato-Nixon Joint Statement of November 1969 which says, "The security of Korea is essential to the security of Japan." Speaking at the Diet in August 1974, Foreign Minister Kimura denied the way of thinking, ascribing it to the notion of cold war. However, in April 1975, Foreign Minister Miyazawa, after his talk with Secretary of State Kissinger, brought it forward again in the form of reaffirming the Korean clause. While commenting on the way of thinking in relation to the "cold war notion," here I am going to examine it from another angle. Suppose foreigners think Japan might better be divided into east and south or Okinawa might better be separated from Japan. Then most of the Japanese would naturally feel repulsion. The above-mentioned notion of advantage of Korea's division is nothing different from this way of thinking.

It is none other than interference in another's internal affairs. It is also a way of thinking contradictory directly to equality between sovereign states. I wonder if those people in

Japan know this.

This article is intended to deal with the Republic's policy of national reunification. So, of the aspiration for reunification expressed in south Korea, I will point out only one latest instance. On April 27, 1971, there was a presidential election in the south. In the election, Pak Jung Hi got 6,342, 838 votes and his rival Kim Dae Jung of the New Democratic Party 5,395,900—majority of 946,938. After the election Kim Dae Jung declared, "Pak Jung Hi's return is invalid." Then, pointing out that there were practices of fraud in the election which no one could deny, he exemplified the following four points: (1) Bribery was practiced throughout the country in excess of the amount of expense limited by law; (2) all the public servants were mobilized; (3) the state budget was misused in the election campaign; (4) pollbooks were fabricated.

The election was held under such "circumstances." It should not be overlooked that in election campaign Kim Dae Jung brought out the question of easing tension of which no one else had ever ventured to speak. He also called for the abolition of the Homeland Reserve Force, the guaranteeing of the prevention of war on the Korean peninsula by the great powers, and for the north-south intercourse. This won the Opposition unprecedentedly great popularity. The greatest motive behind the emergence of Pak's military regime through the military coup on May 16, 1961, had been to scuttle the north-south student talks due at Panmunjom on May 20. Considering all this, we can see how strong the desire for reunification is in south Korea.

Let's proceed to the main subject.

In Pyongyang there is a deep underground railway. It has many stations such as Ponghwa (Torch), Sungri (Victory) and Chonu (Comrade-in-Arms). There is also a station named Tongil (Reunification). This affords clearer evidence of the aspiration for reunification than the people's verbal expression. On the other hand, the people in the Republic were continuing with the state building, aspiring after reunification persistently and

patiently, in spite of the changing internal and external situations. This author visited Korea from April 29, 1975 to May 9, the time when rumours were flying about overtly or covertly in south Korea, Japan, the United States and other countries that the Republic would “invade” the south with the fall of Pnom-Penh in Cambodia and the NLF’s rush into Saigon for a back-ground.

Responding sensibly to the words of one of us that he would visit Korea again after the north and the south were reunified, a person of the Republic said: “We do not only think reunification will come soon. You say you will come after reunification, but we will welcome you if you come even before that.” I realized all the more keenly that the people of the Republic were advancing steadily and patiently towards reunification, following the three principles— independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. It is said that the Republic side has made reunification proposals on more than 150 occasions since its founding.

The most important one is the July 4, 1972 Joint Statement as an “agreement” for the reunification of north and south Korea. And what is also important in my view is the “proposal on confederation” of August, 1960, which seems to have been the preparation for the “agreement”. Another important one is the speech President Kim Il Sung made on June 23, 1973, about the entry into the United Nations and reunification. When the above-mentioned two are likened to the key points of the question of reunification, this speech can rather be considered to be the “detailed exposition” dealing with the practical ways of reunification in relation to the existing politics. I am going to survey the contents of the above three from this angle. But there is one thing which is common to them and I want to touch upon the first. It is the consideration of Korea’s reunification issue in contrast with Germany’s unification problem.

Referring to this problem in his talk with the Executive Director and Chief Editor of Iwanami Publishing House in

Japan (September 19, 1973), President Kim Il Sung most explicitly pointed out:

"The American and the Japanese reactionaries and the south Korean authorities have stubbornly insisted on placing the simultaneous entry of 'two Koreas' on the agenda of this year's session of the UN General Assembly also because it is going to consider the admission of East and West Germany to the UN. They want to take advantage of this. The US imperialists are very cunning.

"Ours is fundamentally different from the case of East and West Germany. Both of them want separation. Formerly Germany was an aggressor nation. As a result of the war, it was divided into two; one became a worker-peasant state, and the other a monopoly-capitalist state. The maintenance of the worker-peasant state in East Germany will, in the long run, serve to weaken the strength of monopoly capital in West Germany. In addition, the adjacent European countries do not want Germany to reunite and become a strong militarist power. Because, then, Germany may reappear as a force of aggression.

"But our case is quite different. We have never invaded any country. Our country was a colony before and then liberated. Our neighbours do not consider that our country would invade others when reunified. Neither the Chinese nor the Soviets nor the Japanese think so. For the Asian countries reunified Korea would be more beneficial than two Koreas antagonistic to each other. The Japanese people have this view, and so have the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

"What is most important here is that the Korean people both in the north and south do not want the division of their country. Koreans are a homogeneous nation which has a long history of a unified state. That is why they never want themselves to be divided." (Kim Il Sung, *Answers to the Questions Raised by Foreign Journalists*, Eng. ed., pp. 355-56.)

As can be seen, the comparison of the Korean case with the German one gives the right key for the study of the Korean reunification issue.

PROPOSAL FOR "CONFEDERATION"

On August 14, 1960 President Kim Il Sung proposed a confederation as a transitional measure for the reunification of north and south Korea. He advanced the proposal in the report at the 15th anniversary celebration of the August liberation. It was offered in connection with Syngman Rhee's dethronement as a result of the April revolution of that year.

What merits primary attention in the proposal is that it clearly pointed out the holding of free general elections in north and south Korea as the key to reunification. He said: "There is no denying the fact that the most reasonable and realistic way to peaceful national reunification is to hold free north-south general elections on a democratic basis without any foreign interference. We appeal to all the political parties and social organizations and the people of all walks of life in south Korea to come out for holding such elections."

In the German case, the ratio of population of the East to that of the West is one to three, but in Korea the population in the south doubles that in the north. On July 27, 1957, Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl of the GDR advanced a proposal on merging the two parts of Germany. The immediate, concrete step suggested in the proposal was that the two Germanies should mutually admit the fact that the two states of quite different nature exist simultaneously today and that their federation should be achieved in such a way that East and West Germany conclude a treaty on the basis of international law "without holding an election for unification throughout Germany". In the Korean case, the north which bears a small proportion of the population has been proposing to hold a free election. This is a feature distinctive of the German case.

What is worthy of attention secondly is the specific con-

tents of the proposal. The following remarks are made in it:

"We propose to establish the Confederation by way of setting up a supreme national committee composed of the representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Government of the 'Republic of Korea' mainly to regulate the economic and cultural development of north and south Korea in a uniform manner, while retaining, for the time being, the present political systems in north and south Korea and maintaining the independent activities of the two governments."

Noteworthy here is that the question is limited, first of all, to the practicable sphere, "retaining the present political systems in north and south Korea". This conception was reiterated by President Kim Il Sung in his above-said talk with the Executive Director and Chief Editor of Iwanami Publishing House in Japan 13 years after the enunciation of the proposal for a confederation, that is, about one year after the announcement of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement. He said:

"We also hold that there should be overall collaboration and interchange between the north and south in the political, economic, cultural and all other realms."

"Despite the institutional differences between the north and south there are many problems on which we can work together now. Both sides can jointly exploit the mineral resources and make use of the results of scientific and technological researches. Overall collaboration is realizable in many other fields."

"If the north and south materialize all-round collaboration and interchange in different spheres, conditions will be created for the two sides to understand and trust each other in this course, and as the time goes by, their mutual understanding will deepen. Then the two sides will be able to have a correct understanding of each other's system, and this will help remove the fear still entertained by some south Koreans for the socialist system in the northern half of the Republic. Further, if, through the north-south collaboration, right is distinguished

from wrong, the latter eliminated and the former encouraged, favourable conditions will be created for achieving great national unity.

.....

"We are proposing to institute the north-south Confederation on the basis of the mutual understanding between the two sides and of the great national unity through these different measures." (Kim Il Sung, *Answers to the Questions Raised by Foreign Journalists*, Eng. ed., pp. 357-58.)

Among the forms of merging states, there is a "federation of states". This means that more than two states form a loose community and entrust specific matters to its organization to be dealt with jointly.

When President Kim Il Sung advanced the proposal for a "confederation", this author thought it to be, in fact, close to "federation of states", because it employed the term of confederation and called for setting up a Great National Congress which is, so to speak, a loose community and enforcing the confederation by letting the above congress regulate the economic and cultural development of north and south Korea in a uniform manner.

The "confederation" proposal was, as its name denotes, a proposal for the promotion of great national unity based on the understanding that there are "two governments" in Korea, that is, two political systems in one country. This is explicitly expressed both in the afore-mentioned President Kim Il Sung's talk in which he cited the German case in comparison with the Korean one and in his remark on the United Nations and reunification which will be referred to in detail later on. Viewed in this sense, the proposal for a "confederation" is a proposal of a new kind which, given a serious consideration, is different from a "federation of states" presupposing the union of more than two states. Speaking of this new kind, it is nothing of the sort of mystic nature. It can be said the proposal stems from the idea of combining two governments in the frame of a single state.

SIGNIFICANCE AND SUBSTANCE OF NORTH-SOUTH JOINT STATEMENT

On July 4, 1972 the historic North-South Joint Statement on national reunification, the cherished aspiration of the entire Korean people, was made public in Pyongyang and Seoul simultaneously. Various factors within and without Korea contributed to the announcement of this statement. These external and internal factors were interlinked with each other. But, as the first internal factor, I can point out, above all, the fact that the contacts between the Red Cross organizations of the north and the south have been continued in the direction of mutual agreement in spite of complications with a view to meeting the desire to seek for family members displaced in the north and the south whose number is said to reach ten million. In the course of these contacts, 25 preliminary talks and 16 working-level meetings were held in Panmunjom from September 20, 1971 to August 11 the next year. At the 20th preliminary talks (June 16, 1972) an agreement was reached on the agenda of the five points such as the confirmation of the addresses and fates of the displaced, and the questions of free mutual visits and contacts.

As the situation tended to develop in favour of contacts, there were unofficial contacts between the representatives of the north and south Korean authorities from November 1971. There was also a high-level political negotiation at the Red Cross working-level meeting, too. In May-June 1972 the north-south high-level talks were held in Pyongyang and Seoul respectively and the North-South Joint Statement was issued on that basis.

As the second internal factor, I can cite the speech of President Kim Il Sung at the Pyongyang city mass rally wel-

coming Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia on August 6, 1971, just before the Red Cross talks. In his speech he pointed out the fact that "an 8-point programme for independent, peaceful reunification", addressed to the fellow countrymen in south Korea, personages of various political parties and social organizations there, was advanced again in April that year. And the President said: **"We are ready to establish contact at any time with all political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, and all social organizations and individual personages in south Korea."** This meant he for the first time admitted that a dialogue could be held with the Pak regime.

As is clear in his following remarks, **"...Nixon will be turning up in Peking with a white flag, just as the US imperialist aggressors came out to Panmunjom with a white flag after their defeat in the Korean war,"** his speech was made some 20 days after the July 15 US State Department's statement that President Nixon would visit Peking in the spring of 1972. Special mention must be made also of the fact that the Albanian resolution on the recognition of China's right to formal representation was adopted on October 25 that year. These are the external, international conditions that favoured the Republic's call for the reunification.

This call would not have led to a "dialogue for reunification" if the regime in the south had had no need to respond to it. The south, in fact, considered it necessary to respond to it for the following reasons:

From the beginning of the 1970's, to see the internal factor first, the situation developed in the direction that within south Korea the joint struggle of the people of various strata was gaining momentum assuming an organizational and protracted nature. The students strengthened interuniversity cooperation and extended their fighting task from the former campus problem to social, national problems. The documents made public on the occasion of the "10th anniversary of the April revolution", for example, took, unlike the former statement, the form of a Joint White Paper of various universities in Seoul. And the

national movement, public welfare movement and civil right movement were started for the anti-Japanese struggle (1), the struggle for the people's right to existence (2), and the struggle for civil rights against fascism (3). The following year, that is, in April 1971, 35,000 students in Seoul staged a demonstration against the intensified military drill, calling for the "abolition of military drill" and the "defence of campus freedom", and this sparked off a nation-wide struggle. The workers and peasants, too, put up a struggle for their right to life; even according to the data published by the government, the number of the participants in labour disputes in 1970 increased three times as against the previous year, and the period of dispute became prolonged.

As mentioned above, in the presidential election in April 1971 Kim Dae Jung won the Opposition great popularity by calling for the relaxation of tension and reunification of the country. And in the May election to the National Assembly, too, the Opposition made a great advance.

As a result, of the 204 seats set for all the electoral districts of the country under a proportional representation system, 113 went to the ruling Democratic Republican Party, 89 to the New Democratic Party, one to the National Party and one to the Popular Party. This meant the gap between the number of seats between the ruling and the opposition parties came closer as never before (*Asahi Year Book*, 1972). The democratization struggles waged through these elections later burst into an anti-Japan campaign against Prime Minister Sato's visit to south Korea and a struggle for the people's right to life. These struggles were fought against the contradictions of the Pak regime's fascist policy and economic policy. In the autumn of 1971 they were joined in even by the Catholic churches.

Internationally, the US policy towards Asia had to undergo a change, though gradually, as can be seen in the afore-said announcement of President Nixon's visit to China. What shocked the Pak regime greatly was the fact that, when things were seen in long-range perspective, the gradual withdrawal

of the US troops was anticipated in spite of the fact that the five-year plan for the modernization of the "ROK" army started from 1970 was not smooth going. The Pak regime seemed to be placed in a dilemma—whether to tighten the internal repressive system or to face the internal and external situations by showing positiveness to a north-south dialogue.

The policy it took in the long run was to adopt both of them, that is, to use sweets and whip at the same time. While carrying out the Red Cross talks and the political talks, it issued a garrison decree on October 15, 1971, and severely suppressed the democratization struggle for the "dissolution of the KCIA" and the "amendment or abolition of the Anti-Communist Law".

Then, on December 6 that year it proclaimed a "state-of-national-emergency" declaration, thereby setting about establishment of the "October Revitalization" system following the July 4 Joint Statement. It may be said that the Pak regime wanted to "gain time". About this, President Kim Il Sung spoke to Dietman Utsunomiya Tokuma as follows:

"The south Korean side told us at the end of June that it was ready to issue a statement. And a statement was issued on July 4 in the names of Li Hu Rak and Kim Yong Ju. The following day, many journalists gathered around Li Hu Rak and were asking questions of him. One of them asked him what would become of the UN forces as there was the principle on the independent solution of reunification without reliance on the foreign forces and without interference from outside forces. Answering this, he said that the UN forces were not the foreign forces. This is nonsense.

"The second question was on the necessity of removing the state-of-national-emergency declaration. Replying the question, he said that it was impossible because the Communist Party was not trustworthy. This is a sheer nonsense.

"Furthermore, answering the subsequent parliamentary interpellation on the readiness to abolish the Anti-Communist Law, Kim Jong Pil (Prime Minister) stressed the necessity of

its stricter administration. We remained silent for one month. Then, on August 4 when we met the south Korean side we reproached it why it had acted contrary to the joint statement after its announcement. From that time we studied the attitude of the south Korean side. Afterwards, Pak Jung Hi himself began to talk about confrontation, competition and co-existence in parallel with dialogue. We advocate unity through dialogue. How can reunification be possible when there is confrontation without unity?" (*Record of Talks between President Kim Il Sung and Utsunomiya Tokuma*, 1974, edited by the Small Committee on Korean Question, the Asian-African Affairs Research Society under the Liberal Democratic Party, pp. 8-12.)

What then were the contents of the July 4 Joint Statement? This statement consists of a foreword and the seven-point text.

The text says that the two sides reached an agreement on the basic principles of the reunification of the country and on the various practical measures for creating an atmosphere of deepening understanding between the north and the south and promoting the reunification, and that the two sides solemnly promised to the whole nation to honestly fulfil these points of agreement. Of these "various practical measures", what was taken immediately was the opening of a permanent direct telephone between Seoul and Pyongyang. Besides it, there was no further progress to speak of.

Accordingly, here I would like to delve into the "principles of the reunification of the country" agreed upon as the first point.

The principles are three: "Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference; secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; and thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system." These independence, peace

and great national unity form the three principles of reunification.

It should be said these are principles substantially in accord with the world's trend to the relaxation of tension and essential for detente, peace and security on the Korean peninsula.

That is why this July 4 Joint Statement was applauded in Korea, Japan and other parts of the world, by everyone in the north and the south. Formerly, the so-called three principles of reunification—*independence, peace and democracy*—were advocated by the forces favouring reunification in the north and the south, except the south Korean rulers, but the recent three principles of reunification were agreed upon by both the north and south Korean sides. It may be said this was, indeed, an epoch-making event in the history of Korean reunification.

The more pronounced the tendency to supporting the joint statement became among the popular masses or among the political and financial figures, the more stiffened posture the Pak regime assumed. This posture, it may be said, was all along characterized by maintenance or freezing of the status quo under the label of “peaceful” co-existence, rather than intended for peaceful reunification.

Suppression itself became intenser with the passage of time, as pointed out in the aforesaid President Kim Il Sung's talks. Under the circumstances, there can be no excuse even if it were blamed for having signed the joint statement from a tactical standpoint. As is generally known, on October 17 emergency martial law was proclaimed and various laws concerning the everyday life of the people, as well as the Constitution and the laws on the judicature, legislature and administration, were revised for the worse or newly enacted, with the result that the so-called “October Revitalization” system was established.

UN MEMBERSHIP AND REUNIFICATION

In the midst of this, on June 23, 1973, about one year after the announcement of the July 4 Joint Statement, both sides of the north and the south expressed their views on UN membership and reunification. These views were as to how to consider the question of reunification in relation to the concrete problem of UN membership. They were practical ones for coping with the international political situation in connection with the question of reunification.

As mentioned above, if the July 4 Joint Statement is considered to be the general principles, the views can be said to be the details. The view of the south, which will be examined later on, runs counter to the July 4 Joint Statement. In contrast, the view of the north is in line with the statement.

On that day, Pak Jung Hi issued a "special statement on the diplomatic policy for peaceful unification" as a "two Koreas" policy, dropping his actually unreasonable claim that "the only lawful government on the Korean peninsula" since 1948 had been the "Republic of Korea". He put the following point:

...

4. "North Korea's" membership in the United Nations will not be opposed if it is conducive to the easing of tension and international cooperation, is wished by a large majority of the UN member states and does not obstruct unification. We have no opposition to inviting "north Korea" to the debate of the Korean question in the United Nations even before its admission into it;

...

In the south they usually put peace and prosperity before unification, but in this statement the latter precedes the former

two against precedent, probably for form's sake because it was for the diplomatic policy for unification and there was the people's strong desire for reunification.

However, it is clear to all that the main stress was, in actuality, put on the "two Koreas" policy expressed in the fourth point which refers to the north-south simultaneous entry into the United Nations. The special statement issued in anticipation of the discussion of the Korean question at the UN General Assembly in autumn was intended to freeze the present situation of division in consideration of the changed situation in which the Republic was admitted into the Interparliamentary Union, World Health Organization and approval was given to the dispatch of its permanent observer to the United Nations.

On the same day, President Kim Il Sung of the Republic put forward a "new fair proposal on reunification" in answer to the above-said special statement, expressing his hope that the south Korean authorities would respond to it with sincerity. He advanced it in his speech at the Pyongyang mass meeting welcoming the Party and Government Delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The passage of his speech quoted below is, in my view, the direct answer to the special statement:

"We hold that the north and south should not enter the UN separately, and consider that if they want to enter the UN before the reunification of the country, they should enter it as a single state under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, at least after the Confederation is set up." The following is the new reunification proposal expressed as the five-point policy: **"Our proposal is to remove military confrontation and ease tension between the north and south, materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the two parts, convene the Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all strata and political parties and social organizations in the north and south, institute the north-south Confederation under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo and enter the UN under the single name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo. When this proposal for the country's**

reunification is put into effect, there will be a great turning point in accomplishing the historic cause of peaceful national reunification on the principle of the north-south joint statement, as commonly desired by our people and the world's people."

After that, the incident of "abduction of Kim Dae Jung" took place on August 8. The north-south confrontation was aggravating without letup. In connection with the incident, Kim Yong Ju, Co-Chairman of the North-South Coordination Committee on the Republic's side stated, "We cannot discuss about reunification face to face with Li Hu Rak and other hooligans of the Central Intelligence Agency. They should be replaced by those who aspire after peaceful reunification." At this, Li Hu Rak, Co-Chairman on the "ROK" side said, "This has led the north-south dialogue into a grave phase," and demanded the withdrawal of the statement. Then without saying a word about the Kim Dae Jung incident, Pak Jung Hi, in his special talks on July 4, 1975, the third anniversary of the North-South Joint Statement, said in regard to Kim Yong Ju's statement: "Moreover, on August 28 the same year the 'north Korean' aggressors made such demands upon us as the repeal of the Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law and put up various pretexts, which we could hardly accept, and unilaterally suspended the north-south dialogue." It may be said his talks were marked by mere reference to the suspense of the north-south dialogue without any explanation of its reason.

Where have the three principles of reunification specified in the July 4 Joint Statement gone, particularly the third principle that "great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system?" All the events that have taken place since the announcement of the joint statement will show that this author is not the only one who regards Pak as a "swindler" as mentioned above.

If it is not so, it is necessary to go back to the principles of the joint statement even now and create conditions for the

north-south dialogue. Since both the north and the south insist upon dialogue, what should be done to return to a "substantial dialogue"? Before touching upon this question, let me comment on the contents of the Korean-Chinese joint communique issued amid the sudden change of the Indo-Chinese situation in April 1975.

KOREAN-CHINESE JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Pnom-Penh, the capital of Cambodia, was liberated on April 17, 1975, by the National Liberation Front. On 18, the following day, President Kim Il Sung of the Republic visited Peking, the capital of China. And a Korean-Chinese joint communique was issued. It was signed in Peking on April 25 and made public at 6 o'clock on the morning of 28 in Peking time. Then the author was staying at Peking.

Speculations were rife about President Kim Il Sung's visit to China. It was partly due to the following passages in his speech delivered at the welcome banquet given on April 18 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council of the People's Republic of China: **"If revolution takes place in south Korea, we, as one and the same nation, will not just look at it with arms folded but will strongly support the south Korean people."**

"If the enemy ignites war recklessly, we shall resolutely answer it with war and completely destroy the aggressors."

"In this war we will only lose the Military Demarcation Line and will gain the country's reunification." The bellicose elements accepted particularly this last passage as a warlike remark and spread a rumour. The clause "If the enemy ignites war" was deliberately ignored. The following point stressed subsequently in the speech was obscured intentionally:

"The problem of whether there be peace or war in Korea

now depends, in the last analysis, on the attitude of the US which actually holds all powers in south Korea and lords it over there.

"If the US really desires peace in Korea and does not want to obstruct the peaceful reunification of Korea, it should stop instigating the traitorous forces rejected by the people in south Korea and it should not interfere in what the people are doing, so that they may realize the democratization of society and establish a democratic regime as they demand."

These remarks reaffirmed the very line of independence. The joint communique smashed the speculations and rumours. It pointed out that the line of Korean reunification was inviolable. It said:

"The Chinese side reaffirms its resolute support to the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. To reunify their fatherland is the Korean people's noble national aspiration.

"The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly put forward correct propositions and reasonable proposals for the reunification of the fatherland.

"In particular, the three principles for independent and peaceful reunification and the five-point proposition for preventing national division and reunifying the fatherland, put forward by President Kim Il Sung, have charted the correct way for settling the question of the reunification of Korea, and they enjoy the resolute backing of the entire Korean people and extensive international support.

"The Chinese side holds that the reunification of Korea should be realized on the basis of the principles and proposition put forward by President Kim Il Sung." (The speech and joint communique are from *Materials on Monthly International Affairs*, early May, 1975, the Information and Culture Bureau, Foreign Ministry.)

What is worth noticing in this communique is, firstly, that both China and Korea mutually affirmed the problems facing them. For instance, the Chinese side reaffirmed the principles

and proposition put forward by President Kim Il Sung on the question of Korea's reunification, and the Korean side reaffirmed its support to the struggle for the liberation of Taiwan Province.

Secondly, the both sides shared the same appraisal of the international situation. The communique points out that both are of the view that the current international situation is developing in a direction more favourable to the revolutionary people of the whole world and unfavourable to imperialism and old and new colonialism, that a salient feature of the excellent international situation of today is the awakening and the growing strength of the numerous third world countries, and that the new victories the Indochinese peoples have won in their liberation struggles greatly inspire the people of all countries and will have a far-reaching influence on the development of the world situation as a whole.

The following points, among others, call this author's special attention: The communique defines, "So long as imperialism exists in the world, this social system breeds war" and points out, "Imperialism is further stepping up its activities of aggression and war under the signboard of 'peace.' The danger of a new world war is increasing." It also points out: "The danger of a new world war is increasing." This is important in the understanding of the present situation. Stress should be put on the very fact that both countries make such appraisal of the situation when it is generally considered that danger of a world war or a war is lessened after the end of the Indochinese war.

On May 8, immediately after his return from his visit to China, President Kim Il Sung received this author and other members of the delegation visiting Korea and told us about the question of Korea's reunification. He said:

"Invariable is our policy of Korean reunification. If the Japanese people act in concert with us for our country's independence on our own efforts and peace, the US imperialist interference in the internal affairs can be frustrated. Korea

should be made one Korea without fail by realizing the three principles of independence, peace and national unity specified in the north-south joint statement and foiling the machination to split one Korea." (*Asahi Shimbun*, May 12, 1975 issue.) He also said: "The change of the situations in Viet Nam and Cambodia will hardly affect our policy." Particularly impressive was his remark: "Viet Nam is Viet Nam, and Cambodia is Cambodia, so is Korea. Each country should lay down a policy suited to its actual conditions and carry it out." This really was the stress on the immutability of the reunification policy based on the Juche (independent) idea.

CONDITIONS FOR RESUMPTION OF "NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE"—BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

This author thinks that in many parts of this writing he has already referred to what should be done to hold the "dialogue" again.

In last autumn resolutions were adopted at the UN General Assembly supporting the north and the south respectively. Though the relation between them is what water is to oil, the resolution favouring the "ROK" stresses the "continuance of north-south dialogue and the peaceful unification of the country," and the resolution favouring the DPRK calls for "observation of the principles laid down in the North-South Joint Statement...and permanent peace and the independent, peaceful reunification." In that case, concrete conditions should, above all, be sought for the reopening of the "dialogue". Otherwise, the "continuance of the dialogue" itself will end in an empty talk. In his talks with Dietman Utsunomiya Tokuma held on July 15, 1975, President Kim Il Sung said in person:

"Chang Gi Yong (Vice-Co-Chairman of the North-South

Coordination Committee of the south Korean side) proposed to meet us on July 15, so the Vice-Co-Chairman of our side sent a reply to him on July 14. In it we demanded: they, firstly, stop war provocations which they carry on on the pretext of threat to southward aggression; secondly, discontinue the anti-communist clamours such as annihilation of communism and prevailing over communism; thirdly, stop suppressing democratic personages in south Korea; and fourthly, remain true to the July 4 Joint Statement. We also demanded they have a talk with us instead of attempting to perpetuate the division of Korea. If reunification is not made a goal, any talk is meaningless. We told them that when all these demands are met, we will meet them at any time. It was reported in south Korea that the north broke up the talks. So we issued a statement again. We told them that the holding of talks was insignificant when the democratic personages are suppressed, that if we had a talk under such situation, we would be cursed by the south Koreans, and that we will continue with the Red Cross talks, though."

The south Korean side commented on the reply of July 14:

"In its notice given by phone to the Seoul side on July 14, the Pyongyang side bluntly refused the Seoul side's proposal to hold the 11th Vice-Co-Chairmen's meeting on July 15 and reiterated its former position that the north-south dialogue is possible only when the Republic of Korea revokes the statement of June 23 on the diplomatic policy for peaceful unification (1), discontinues the anti-communist policy (2), and puts an end to the efforts to strengthen self-defence (3)."

One side insists on the creation of conditions for the carrying out of the principles of the July 4 Joint Statement, holding that any talk is meaningless if it is not aimed at reunification, while the other side repeatedly calls for mere "reopening of the dialogue".

Here is part of the notice sent on October 17, 1975 to Chang Gi Yong, Vice-Co-Chairman of the south Korean side by Cho Myong Il, Vice-Co-Chairman of the Republic's side,

which brings out a striking contrast between the views of the north and the south on the "dialogue":

"...In our telephone notice of July 14 we reiterated that if your side sincerely wishes to have dialogue with us, it should stop an empty talk about the 'reopening of the dialogue', and, on the principle agreed upon by both sides, should discontinue clamours about 'anti-communism' and 'annihilation of communism' as well as war clamour and rescind the fascist repressive measures against the south Korean patriots and other people and abandon the criminal 'two Koreas' line. And we have waited for your side to make its attitude clear and give a reply."

Namely, a fundamental change of the attitude towards reunification was demanded here. Accordingly, reminding the fact that "in connection with this principled attitude which the Seoul side should show for the successful dialogue between the north and the south, our side has given the Seoul side a sufficient time of three months to reply it," the notice continues:

"Regretting very much that your side has not clarified its attitude to this date, we hope it will show an affirmative attitude within one month." (*Korean News Service*, October 21, 1975 release.)

In the future, too, there will be continued exchange of mutually contradictory telephone notices. If the exchange of such notification is only made in place of "dialogue", where have the three principles of the July 4 Joint Statement vanished? And who is it that violates them most flagrantly? Historic developments in Korea show it to us.

“KOREAN PEOPLE SHOULD CARVE OUT THEIR DESTINY INDEPENDENTLY”

M.R. GUYOT

French Senator

Mr. Chairman,
Dear friends,

Allow me first to greet you on behalf of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party and rejoice at the sitting of this World Conference in support of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. Availing myself of this opportunity I would like to reaffirm our time-honoured solid and positive solidarity with the DPRK.

The solidarity of the French Communists is natural. They feel profound sympathy for the sufferings of the courageous and proud people who, after having undergone colonial exploitation and then a cruel aggressive war, have fallen a victim to the intolerable division for over thirty years. I remember I had a great honour of visiting Korea together with the delegation of the French Communist Party in May 1968. It is an unforgettable recollection for me.

What is at issue in Korea is the same reasons for the struggle which the French Communists wage. It is the inalienable right of the people to dispose of themselves without foreign interference and carve out their destiny independently. It is the necessity to ban the use of nuclear weapons, put a stop to the

expensive and hazardous armament race, eradicate the root cause of tension and promote the cause of peace. It is the liberty of the people in the south of the Military Demarcation Line who are constantly subjected to denunciation, repression and torture and denied the elementary rights of citizen.

It also concerns our proper national interest. France is involved too. Because she took part in the Korean war of 1950-1953 against the Korean people to commit aggression and also because the US troops stationed in south Korea are usurping the name of the United Nations. The interest of France, the interest of the French people, requires action so that the causes of tension—the presence of the US troops and the course of armament race—be eliminated, that the two parties of Korea be brought to concord and mutual respect. In a word, it lies in contribution to the just settlement of the question.

We cannot but admit that the present government of our country does not act in this direction. On the contrary, in the United Nations it supports the theses designed to perpetuate the division of Korea and instigates big French enterprises to make a huge investment in south Korea where abounds cheap labour force. Besides, numerous and insistent informations are afloat that it is going to put nuclear cooperation into effect with the Seoul regime. It is thanks to the existence of a big solidarity committee and the support of the public opinion that our struggle in France made for the establishment of the DPRK trade mission in Paris several years ago. We are continuing our struggle so that an embassy will be opened and that the flag of the DPRK will fly in the capital of France.

While denouncing the wrong policy of the government, the French Communists are making efforts to popularize in the country the actual data of the situation as well as the proposals of the DPRK government set forth by President Kim Il Sung. They are actively engaged in extending and promoting in the country the movement of solidarity with the courageous struggle of the progressive personages, democrats, patriots, laymen or ecclesiastics in south Korea. They work so that the just cause

of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea will win an ever more active and concerted support in France. They will find in the sitting of this World Conference supplementary reasons for forward advance.

Friends and brothers of Korea, we are standing by you in your noble struggle as we stood by the heroic Vietnamese people, by you for victory.

(From the document on the World Conference in Support of the Peaceful Reunification of Korea, the 1977 edition of the French Publishing House "Alfred Eibel")

THE ARDENT WISH OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE



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On a sunny day in July 1976 I arrived in Panmunjom, 12 kilometers from the bustling city of Kaesong. Panmunjom is situated on the Demilitarized Demarcation Line between the two halves of Korea. The Demilitarized Zone stretches for 240 kilometers across the Korean peninsula in a width of four kilometers. Panmunjom is the special conference area. Here a number of conference halls and installations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the US colonialists who have assumed the name of "UN troops" exist in order to carry on the conferences that are hopefully to lead to a lasting peace in Korea. Besides, buildings of the four observer nations are situated in the neighborhood: On the northern side the buildings of the Polish and Czechoslovak observers, on the southern side the buildings of the Swedish and Swiss observers.

Panmunjom is a sad testimony to the more than 30 years long split between the two halves of Korea. On the northern side one looks out over an area of fertile rice paddies, which are being

cultivated to the limit of the DMZ. On the southern side the eye roams over deserted areas—uncultivated mountain slopes and barren fields, which were once cultivated by man. On the south side one can also clearly see the military fortifications of the south, which have been built in clear violation of the armistice agreement. No such military installations exist on the north side.

At the checkpoint before the DMZ the number plates of our car are covered up, and a yellow flag is raised on the car to show that we are legitimate visitors to the area. We pass an American checkpoint on the northern side, where Yankee soldiers stare curiously at us. In the area itself we visit the building, where the armistice agreement was signed—a large building with two entrances—now used as a museum and the present conference hall which has been used for 380 meetings since the signing of the Armistice Agreement, (as of August 25, 1976).

Seeing this arbitrary borderline in the middle of a country, which for 5,000 years has been peopled by one homogeneous people, speaking the same language and sharing the same culture, and the sad contrast between the construction in the north and the barren fields of the south makes one understand more clearly why it is the most ardent wish of all Koreans to reunify the partitioned fatherland, the supreme national duty and most important task today.

After liberation in 1945 the Korean people, who had fought bitterly and bravely against the Japanese imperialist colonialists for 36 years, naturally expected to gain their national independence and sovereignty. But instead US imperialists occupied the southern half of Korea, letting the conquered Japanese carry on, prohibiting the people's committees which had arisen all over the country and starting a terror regime against all progressive forces of the Korean people.

While the people in the northern half of the Republic under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade KIM IL SUNG built a new and democratic country, 250,000 patriots were killed

in the southern half in the short period of 1948-49.

Despite harassment of the US colonialists and their puppets a nationwide general election was held on August 25, 1948. 99.97 percent of the people in the northern half and 77.52 percent of the people in the southern half took part in this first free and democratic election of Korea. After the election the newly elected Assembly founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, disregarding the divisive attempts of the US imperialists, who had fabricated a puppet "Republic of Korea" some months before.

The Government of the DPRK called for a peaceful and independent reunification, but the US imperialists and their puppets invaded the DPRK on June 25, 1950, provoking war on the Korean peninsula. The Korean war lasted for three years and cost the Korean people untold misery. The US imperialists bragged that they had bombed the DPRK back to the stone age, and that it would be impossible for the northern half to rise again even in one hundred years after armistice was signed on July 27, 1953. But reality proved quite the contrary.

In Kaesong I talked to the 57 years old female worker Sin Sun Dok, who told me about her experience.

"At the end of 1950 I and my husband were living with our five children in Pyongyang. At that time the US imperialists spread vicious propaganda, scaring the people by threats to use atomic weapons against the Korean people. The Yankees also said that the People's Army and the Chinese volunteers would kill all men. At that time the class consciousness of many peoples was still rather weak, so we got scared, even though we should have known the Americans lied. At the beginning of the war they had said, they could conquer the DPRK in three days. But nevertheless we were scared and my husband and three children went south. I tried to follow with our two daughters, but when we arrived in Kaesong the bridges had been blown away. So many people were massed along the river that the banks were white with people. (Koreans at that time were as a rule dressed in white.) There were no

bridges and ships, and the US imperialists were shooting indiscriminately at people, so I and my two daughters remained in Kaesong. To this day I do not know whether my husband was killed at that time or whether he fled to south Korea. We have not been able to write each other in all this time.

"It is ironical that we can receive people from far-away countries, but not our relatives and friends in south Korea.

"I have lived through three social systems: The Japanese occupation, the US occupation and the DPRK. I can say truthfully that the US occupation was no better than the Japanese one. When the Japanese were ousted in 1945 they bragged that they would be back within three years. At that time people who did not speak Japanese were beaten up.

"The Japanese have indeed returned to south Korea as the allies of the US occupation forces. And the US occupation forces in Kaesong showed their total disregard for the people, murdering people at will, taking the schools from the children and turning them into their army barracks and causing our people untold miseries in every way.

"After the war I studied and tried to eke out a living selling goods on the retail market. This was very difficult, so I was glad when I could join a producers' cooperative.

"But I still felt ashamed, because I had tried to flee. Therefore I told people that I really came from Seoul and I went so far as to adopt a new family name, Kim.

"But at the time I felt miserable, because I lied to the many fine friends and comrades who had received me so well. And when the respected and beloved leader Comrade KIM IL SUNG visited our cooperative in 1957, I decided to make a clean breast. I said weeping that I felt so ashamed because I had betrayed the trust of the people.

"But the fatherly leader just looked at me and said quietly:

"'During the war many people were taken away to the south. They went there, because they got scared at the atomic bomb blackmail or had a mistaken opinion of the Yanks.

"'Also, some committed crimes and escaped to the south.

From whatever motives they may have done so, the Yanks are to blame for that.

“‘They sought in this or that way to get the Koreans to kill one another....

“‘So, the Party forgave all who repented of their mistaken conducts even if they had joined in the peace maintenance corps or other anti-communist organizations under US imperialist occupation.

“‘Even those who defected to the south will be forgiven if they repent and come back to the embrace of the Republic.

“‘...The Communists are true patriots who always stand by the people, ensure them a good life and are ready to sacrifice themselves in their behalf. ... When socialism is consolidated as firm as a rock and the people in the north become happier our fellow countrymen in the south will rise against the US imperialists and Syngman Rhee the traitor. Then the peaceful reunification of our country which is everybody’s desire will surely come.

“‘It is not wrong of you to yearn for your husbands who are gone to the south.

“‘The thing is that you work more resolutely in the building of socialism to make your husbands return to you.’

“Outside the cooperative building later the great leader came to me personally and said: ‘Set your mind at rest and work hard in good health. You will surely meet your husband.’

“In this way I was greatly inspired to work for the socialist construction to hasten the day of reunification. We now have a large textile factory with new machines. We have all kinds of facilities like creches and kindergartens and my two daughters have received a splendid education.

“I could be pensioned when I was 56, but I decided to continue working. I now receive 150 *won* a month in wages and have about one month of paid vacation a year. My elder daughter is married, but I am living in a two-room apartment with my younger daughter. We have television and all other kinds of modern comfort.

"I have seen with my own eyes which system is better and will always fight for our socialist system."

The Government of the DPRK has consistently worked for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, but unfortunately its sincere efforts have so far been frustrated by the US imperialists and their puppet regime in Seoul.

The basic policy of the Government of the DPRK for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country can be summed up in these words by the great leader, President KIM IL SUNG:

"The basic policy consistently followed by our Party in the struggle for national reunification is for the Korean people themselves to attain this goal independently, free from any outside interference, and by peaceful means on a democratic principle."

Following this consistent policy the Government of the DPRK has made a multitude of concrete proposals to ease the tension on the Korean peninsula and promote reunification.

In 1971 preliminary contacts between the Red Cross organizations of north and south took place.

In 1972 top-level talks between the north and the south were held, and the North-South Joint Statement on realizing the independent and peaceful reunification of the country was published on the basis of the three principles advanced by the great leader, President KIM IL SUNG: Independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

But the south Korean puppet regime, which is desperately afraid of the will of the people, violated this statement even before its ink had dried.

Today conditions in south Korea have deteriorated more than ever and it has been turned into a living hell. The working people slave for starvation wages and have to pay hundreds of onerous taxes. It is teeming with beggars and the unemployed, and illiteracy is the normal fate of the working population. All kinds of vices are indulged in at the behest of the US occupation forces.

While there are no foreign troops stationed in the DPRK, some 45,000 US soldiers are stationed in south Korea, abusing the name of the United Nations.

People are jailed, tortured and murdered indiscriminately. The conduct of the barbarous south Korean puppet regime has become an embarrassment even to their US lords, who try to excuse them on the flimsy pretence of "danger of invasion from the north".

But all the facts show unequivocally who are the real war-mongers in Korea.

The US imperialists have tried to make a formula of "two Koreas" to perpetuate the division of Korea.

Finally they want to dominate all of Korea, and for this they employ a tactical ploy, the purpose of which is to make the southern part of Korea safe for US and Japanese infiltration and at the same time step up war preparations against the northern part.

When I was in Korea in July 1976 the south Korean puppets were frantically introducing new kinds of aggressive weapons, and the Government of the DPRK had to issue a stern warning. Two weeks later the US imperialists provoked a serious episode in the Panmunjom area, which might have led to war.

Since 1953 the US imperialists and their south Korean puppets have violated the armistice agreement 131,900 times. This is equal to 18 times a day at an average. But the Government of the DPRK has kept calm and only reiterated its reasoned proposals for a peaceful and independent reunification. The Government of the DPRK has said many times that the different social systems of the two parts of Korea could be kept and that the two countries could unite in a Confederal Republic of Koryo, which should be admitted to the UN as a single country.

The name of Koryo has been adopted because it is neutral to both parts. In the DPRK Korea is called "Choson" and in the south "Hanguk".

Koryo was a unitary state, which once existed in Korea

and was widely known to the world. Therefore this will be a good name for a state acceptable to both the north and the south.

The Government of the DPRK has suggested a proposal to the USA on concluding a peace agreement in order to remove the danger of a new war in Korea and guarantee a durable peace. But the USA has not yet given any answers to this proposal.

Recently the political parties and public organizations of the DPRK held a joint meeting and advanced a four-point proposal, in which they appealed to realize a great alliance of the socialist forces of the north and the patriotic democratic forces of the south desirous of reunification for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, to ease the tension between the north and the south, and remove the danger of a nuclear war, to remove the source of discord within the nation and create an atmosphere of great national unity for the advancement of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and finally to convene a north-south political consultative conference composed of representatives of all the political parties, public organizations and people of all strata in the north and the south so as to have consultations about all the above-mentioned questions. Peace in Korea is entirely maintained by the persevering efforts of the DPRK.

The purpose of the "two Koreas" ploy is to keep south Korea as a military base and colony. In future the US imperialists will try to occupy all of Korea. This is expressly said by the Pacific doctrine of ex-President Ford. The USA has many purposes in hanging on to south Korea. South Korea is rich in natural resources and could be a valuable material base for the Americans. Oil has been found in the offshore waters. At the same time they want to keep south Korea as a military base to keep the USSR and China at bay and intensify the control over Japan. Through this means they also want to win superiority in all of Asia. USA has previously said that Korea is one nation, and that they could not recognize the DPRK. The new

policy is due to the ever growing economical, political and military might of the DPRK and the greater international prestige it enjoys. All the progressive peoples of the world recognize the Government of the DPRK as the only legitimate Government of the Korean people. The south Korean puppet regime has been condemned all over the world. It is doomed as Thieu and Lon Nol were. The "two Koreas" ploy is intended to shore up the puppet regime and at the same time prepare for war. The US imperialists have always said they made war for the sake of peace. They will say the same thing this time. They talk about "peaceful co-existence" while arming to the teeth. USA does not want a war in the Middle East or Europe. They want the confrontation to come in Korea.

More than 1,000 of all kinds of nuclear weapons have been introduced into south Korea. Firing ramps, rockets, etc. Most of the US nuclear weapons in the Western Pacific area are stationed in south Korea. The DPRK has no plans of developing nuclear weapons. The DPRK does not believe them to be necessary, for it does not believe the US imperialists can use nuclear weapons in a Korean war. Geographically Korea is quite small and the military forces are concentrated around the DMZ. Enemies and friends are very close to each other. If the enemy uses nuclear weapons, many of their own will be killed. Only fools talk about using nuclear weapons. Ford and Kissinger are fools, when they talk about this possibility.

They only introduce nuclear weapons to threaten and blackmail the DPRK but the DPRK is not afraid of their blackmail policy. South Korea has asked USA for a nuclear umbrella, but the DPRK would never consider asking any country for the same. It believes in its independent Juche-oriented defense force.

The DPRK thinks that nuclear weapons should be totally prohibited, and that all countries should stop testing nuclear bombs. But the DPRK will not sign any treaty on a partial stop. A partial stop is not useful—the purpose of it is to mislead the peoples of the world. Only a total ban on the production

and test of nuclear weapons will be to the benefit of the people of the world.

The people and Government of the DPRK do not want war. When war rumours were spreading at the end of August 1976, I was in Pyongyang, and everything was completely normal. There was no kind of war excitement or mobilization to see.

The Korean people have had terrible experience with war. In museums I have seen photos and relics showing the massacres by the US imperialists during the war beyond any doubt. Hundreds of thousands were killed and maimed. A mute witness to the atrocities of war is the mountain "Height 1,211" in the Kumgang area, which I was told was five meters higher at that time—the top of the mountain has simply been bombed off.

The People's Army of the DPRK now is numerically much smaller than the south Korean puppet army (to talk nothing about the US occupying troops), but they are confident they can win over any enemy that dares to invade the DPRK.

In Pyongyang I talked to an officer of the People's Army. He told me there is no conscription in the DPRK. The army is a volunteer army. Most young people want to serve, but many are also needed in the construction work, so most have to be turned away. The usual age of volunteering for service is 19-20.

The army takes active part in the civilian construction work, building institutions, culture palaces and apartment buildings. The soldiers also are mobilized for harvest work in the countryside.

DISTRESS SUFFERED BY LAND OF MORNING CALM



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I. DIVIDED NATION

There is an ordinary four-cornered table with five grey armchairs on either side of it. This is all the furniture of the meeting hall in Panmunjom where the Military Armistice Commission regularly meets. You will actually feel the division of this country at the sight of the line running across the table. The north side of this line is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the south side the southern half of Korea which is under the occupation of the US troops for 32 years.

The only decoration is the two tiny flags displayed on the table. One flag bears a five-pointed star on the red ground hemmed with two blue stripes. It is the national flag of the DPRK. The other one, to my regret, is the light blue UN flag. It is a leftover of the time when the Americans plunged Korea into the flames of war under the name of the UN by mobilizing their

voting machine in this international organization.

I was led by Korean People's Army officers into the meeting place in Panmunjom just located on the Demarcation Line. Catching sight of me, Americans drew together to the southern window. One of them was hastily reporting something to his superior over a portable radio phone. Judging from his tirade he seemed to be giving a full description of the personal appearance of this white-skinned stranger who was coming escorted by Korean Communists. Other Yankees with the MP-inscribed helmets pulled over their eyes and a pistol and club on the hip were mooching around with their arms akimbo, throwing a searching look at me. They were the US military personnel in the Joint Security Area.

From their big builds I could easily see they meet the demand of the US army regulations that they stand 1.82 metres and weigh 80 kilograms at least. From their manners, however, I thought they fell short of the demand that their schooling be above average. In fact, they were grinning foolishly on the other side of the window as if meaning to poke fun at or bid defiance to me. Their creepy faces fully suggested that they were lowbrows.

Panmunjom Bears Two Symbols

A little way from here there stands another similar building where the Armistice Agreement was concluded on July 27, 1953 to put an end to the three-year war. During the war the US Command poured over this place an average of 18 bombs per square kilometre. According to their own statistics, they lost 405,000 effectives in this war. Hence, General Clark bitterly confessed at that time that he was the first US representative who came off a loser and was obliged to sign the Armistice Agreement.

The Armistice Agreement has an article envisaging the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from Korea. However, Americans have turned it meaningless.

Thus today Panmunjom bears two opposing symbols—the military defeat of mightiest imperialism and the prolongation of Korea's division.

Korea is well known to the world as a “land of morning calm”. Well arranged fields, clear water and sky, bright sunshine, crystalline stones, diamond-shaped peaks, affluent and delicate colours, peaceable villages where brown tile-roofed houses are standing in rows, the *kayagum*, a musical instrument which is said to have been made in the 5th century, played by lovely children, graceful women in little long skirts and pretty-coloured silk *chogori*, elegant magnolia decorations, and low hills where golden bells and royal azaleas blossom among trees and pheasants preen their feathers....

There were flowers in Panmunjom too. Magnolia and other beautiful flower plants tended with care were growing thick in the area of the Korean side while the area of the US side was remaining desolate as a demilitarized zone where barbed wires were stretched and watchtowers set up.

It presented a sharp contrast between the north and the south of Korea. The south was a hellish land in every respect.

The South—a Hellish Land

In the 1960's south Korea obtained 7,620 million dollars of loans and showed a signal progress that deserved to be called a “miracle” in the basin of the Han-gang River. It reminded one of something like what happened between the Elbe and the Rhine 10 years ago.

However, the south Korean economy, unlike the West Germany's, is wholly dependent upon foreign capital, mainly upon

US and Japanese investments. Compared with the economy of the German Federal Republic, the south Korean economy leans more exclusively on exports, and the larger half of them go to the US and Japan.

This is a typical neo-colonial economy. It brings nothing to the people outside a handful of the power elites. The popular masses are in the worst condition.

A south Korean worker earns 250-300 francs a month. This can hardly cover the expense of food for a worker with four mouths to feed. (This is a common case. Moneyless aged parents are wholly dependent upon their sons and daughters.) What they eat daily is a bowl or two of boiled rice and a few spoonfuls of pickles.

Labour conditions are beyond human imagination. Workers work for 12 hours on an average, sometimes for 18 hours a day. Neither bonus nor special allowance for night work is available. Female workers are more maltreated. Their monthly salary is less than a half of male workers'. If they are girls they are usually dismissed when they get married. I must point out a kind of "concern" shown for women workers. In some enterprises such as "Sygmatics," a branch of the US electronic company, they are forced to take stimulants to prevent their sinking with drowsiness or fatigue.

Labour is often likened to suicide.

Rural situation is more miserable. Eighty to ninety per cent of the peasants are toiling for big landlords, each farmhouse cultivating less than one *chongbo* of land, the only means of living. When winter comes round their life gets worse. Numerous peasants quit their native places and swarm to towns in search of jobs. However, in most cases they are reduced to slum-dwellers and drawn into the army of unemployment.

Streets are crowded with shoeshine boys, old beggars, boys hawking "*kimbap!*" (boiled rice rolled in laver) and A-frame carriers with heavy loads on their back. For all their efforts, their earnings are next to nothing.

Living costs shoot up without letup. Rice price has more than trebled in the last six years. Prostitution is prevailing. Three million schoolable children are shut out of school.

Those in power preach austerity. In the region, the former granary of Korea, they have instituted the "flour meal day" on which the people are forced to eat thin flour gruel to taste the US "aid". Anyone failing to observe this day is punishable.

These are some of the stories told by the south Korean patriots I met in Pyongyang, the capital city of the DPRK. Many were much more tragic.

One Policeman for Every Eight Inhabitants

They also told me about south Korean prisons where torture is rife. Some people were sentenced to death or punished by hanging. The speakers also touched on the Seoul regime which is the most ferocious and barbarous fascist dictatorship ever known to the world.

Every democratic freedom and human right has been stamped out by dint of martial law and emergency measures.

The KCIA which can be called the Gestapo of south Korea is staffed with 13,000 besides tens of thousands of agents. To-day south Korea is said to have forty policemen per square kilometre, that is, one for every eight inhabitants.

There stand barracks in front of Seoul University and 500-600 troops are kept on the alert. Secret TV devices are installed in the university to watch every move of the students. If more than ten students gather in the corridor they are rounded up then and there on the suspected plot to overthrow the government.

II. "HOT SPOT" ON THE GLOBE

There is an important reason for the current south Korean dictator Pak Jung Hi to guard against the students.

In April 1960 his predecessor Syngman Rhee was dethroned due to the students' struggle. One year later in May 1961 the Americans cooked up a coup d'etat in revenge for this and Pak Jung Hi took power.

The past records of this man call for special attention.

He began the world bearing the Japanese surname Okamoto. At that time, he served as lieutenant in the Japanese occupationist army which had turned Korea into a colony.

During the 1950-1953 war he appeared as a brigadier this time under the US command and perfected his attainments through practice at the Fort Sill Military Academy in Oklahoma.

His blue tile-roofed palace in Seoul is called the Blue House like the White House in Washington.

Whenever an election farce was staged Pak Jung Hi faked up its results at will. In Seoul, presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung overwhelmed Pak Jung Hi.

The results, however, were reverse. That could not be otherwise in south Korea where swindling prevails.

Kim Dae Jung considered it best to take refuge in Japan. But this plan too was dashed. Pak Jung Hi instigated the KCIA agents to kidnap Kim from Japan and put him into prison.

Yun Bo Sun who had taken the presidency post between 1960 and 1961, too, was condemned to penal servitude.

Chong Il Hyong, the former foreign minister, and Kim Ji Ha, the best poet and Christian, are now in prison.

Five out of the 4,000 students who had held a demonstration on April 3, 1974 were sentenced to death.

A Yonse University student named Han Hi Yong and a Rihwa Women's University student were tortured to death.

Comrade Kim Jong Tae was sentenced to death and strangled; Comrade Choe Yong Do, too, was tortured to death. Both Communists organized the Revolutionary Party for Reunification and carried on underground activities. Rim Yong Suk, wife of Comrade Kim Jong Tae, was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Whereabouts of their two sons are unknown.

And how many patriots have been imprisoned and tortured to death! The exact number of the imprisoned political offenders is unavailable. An authentic source says they number 60,000 but some people put the number at 200,000. It is deplorable that the latter is closer to the reality.

Mr. Carter, Where Are Human Rights Gone?

This is the very terror regime the US is preserving, keeping Korea divided. It is the very power protected by the administration of Carter who professes to be a defender of human rights. The continuous US intervention in Korea, contrary to its promise, can never be justified as one designed to "freedom". It has rather brought about cruellest oppression only. Neither is this intervention intended for a sort of "security". Russians unilaterally withdrew from this country as far back as 1948. The Chinese People's Volunteers too were evacuated from Korea long ago.

No strict observer of the DPRK may claim this country spells a menace. There is no doubt that its independent policy is aimed at peaceful reunification.

The DPRK has put forward a lot of proposals including one to institute Confederation while maintaining the present socio-economic systems in two parts of the country—socialism

in the north and capitalism in the south—as they are.

In his talk with AFP and UPI correspondents in April 1977, Pak Jung Hi prattled: “Frankly speaking, we are now capable of checking the attack by north Korea for ourselves.” In fact, the south Korean fascists are keeping over 700,000 troops, the fifth largest army in the world, by the US aid.

This year 1,800 million dollars equivalent to the one-third of the budget of the Seoul regime have been turned to the upkeep of this army. Additional 439 million dollars are expected to be allotted for the munitions industry.

The south Korean army also has combat experience. Some 312,000 mercenaries of south Korea fought in Vietnam together with the US expeditionary force between 1964 and 1973.

How should we explain the US military intervention in Korea in this situation? Is it designed to cover the fatal weak points of the Army of Pak Jung Hi who has been repudiated by the people at home? Or is it rather based on an overall strategic consideration? Both suppositions seem to hold true. The first one makes the US the protector of the most hateful dictatorship while the second one breeds a grave danger.

What Has Come of Your Campaign Pledges?

What on earth is the mission of the 40,000 US troops stationed in south Korea if it is not to back Pak Jung Hi? Why have they been equipped with up-to-date weapons including missiles and some 700 nuclear warheads? Is it not for attacking Russia and China, the neighbours of Korea?

Thus the land of morning calm has turned into one of the “hot spots” on the globe, the vestige of cold war. It is more serious since this land is being turned into an arena of numerous events which may develop into a total conflict on the Demarcation Line.

Recently a large-scale military exercise, simulating the Seoul army's attack on one of the north Korean positions was conducted several kilometers away from the Military Demarcation Line in the presence of Pak Jung Hi, US officers and the Western diplomats.

Upset by the US aggression on Vietnam and the defeat suffered there, the US public is anxious about the continuous US intervention in Korea.

Leaving the White House with somewhat questionable honour Nixon himself could not but consider the withdrawal of the US troops. Mr. Carter too committed himself to the withdrawal of the US troops during the election campaign. However, upon assuming office, the new US President began to neglect this commitment on this or that plea. In May Carter sent Assistant Secretary of State Philip Habib and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General George Brown to Seoul and Tokyo. After their tour it became obvious that the US Air Force is to keep its equipment and men in south Korea and that the "phased" withdrawal will be confined to the ground force and only 6,000 US troops will be evacuated by the end of 1978. It will take fourteen years to withdraw the whole of the US expeditionary troops if it goes on at this rate. Top senators of Washington liberally greased by Seoul are more callous to this matter than the White House.

In this way the United States is going to perpetuate its military occupation of south Korea. But it has no right whatever to do so. The US occupation of south Korea only keeps the tension alive. Its continued occupation also runs counter to the resolution adopted at the 30th session of the UN General Assembly held in November 1975.

President Kim Il Sung Says

The Korean people are a nation with a history of several thousand years. There is no reason whatever for Korea to re-

main divided. When President Kim Il Sung of the DPRK had a talk with me I told him that some people were inclined to identify the present situation of Korea with that of Germany.

Stressing that there are sharp distinctions between them and this must be taken into consideration, he said:

"Korea has never invaded any one. On the contrary, Korea was invaded by others and reduced to their colony. Our reunification does not spell a menace to any other countries. On the contrary, it will provide a favourable condition for the development of peaceful relations with all our neighbouring countries."

The north-south talks began in July 1972. It was emphasized there that reunification should be achieved independently, on the basis of national unity and by peaceful means. However, the talks were postponed indefinitely due to the machination of the Seoul puppets who regarded them as a menace to their dictatorship. From then on, the Pak Jung Hi clique has further intensified fascist suppression and worked in frenzy to get external recognition of "two Koreas"

President Kim Il Sung said with set teeth that the Government of the DPRK was sticking closely to its reasonable proposals for independent peaceful reunification.

Why Should French Atomic Power Stations Be Transferred to Seoul?

The south Korean puppets are drawing support from imperialism. Recently a Japanese magazine properly compared the Seoul regime to a mongrel dog having both Western and Japanese blood in its veins.

The Giscard regime and French monopolies in the West are also responsible for prolonged tragedy in Korea. The state and civilian loans to south Korea offered by France amount to

3,176 million francs at the end of 1976. They are going to loan 385 million francs to south Korea in addition.

An agreement has been reached in principle on transferring two atomic power stations of France by way of granting 8,860 million francs of credit to the Seoul regime.

President Kim Il Sung did not conceal his anger at this move of adding a nuclear danger to the adventurous south Korean fascist dictatorship.

(From French newspaper *L'Humanite*, June 28, 1977 issue)

US ARMY STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA HAMPERS KOREA'S PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION

**—The Voice of the World Calling for the
Withdrawal of the US Army from
South Korea —**



KAJITANI YOSHIHISA

Japanese Critic of International Affairs

THIRTY YEARS OF FORCED SPLIT

In August 1945 Korea broke off the 36-year long colonial domination of Japan. However, amidst what is called the cold war structure shaped after World War II by antagonism between the two great powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—the “Republic of Korea” was rigged up in the south in August 1948 and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea born in the north in September of the same year.

Thirty years have already passed since the creation of an

abnormal situation in which the homogeneous nation who had lived together through history with the same culture and language was partitioned into two separate states.

This was neither chosen nor hoped by the Korean nation itself. In view of her national, political and cultural aspects Korea ought to have built the single state of her single nation; her north and south should make up for each other in the economy, as they were called "the north for industry and the south for agriculture" even in the days of Japanese rule.

Due to its geographical location a peninsula had been often reduced to a ground for international conflicts or wars. When a continental state was extending its influence to the sea it would use a peninsula as a stepping-stone. A peninsula also appealed as a strategic base, as a war supply centre.

Korea had been subjected to pressure and aggression, among others, from the Asian continent. It is a well-known fact that the troops of Yüan made an expedition far into Europe in the west and invaded Korea twice with an eye to Japan in the east.

Each time Korea was severely pillaged as a base for the requisition of troops and shipbuilding materials. Mountains were denuded due to indiscriminate felling of trees, towns and villages burned down and many inhabitants drafted as ship builders never to return home.

In the days of Tsarist Russia, Ming and Ching too, this peninsula was not free from their ceaseless aggression from the north. It goes without saying that the Korean Peninsula served as a bridgehead for Asian aggression.

The Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War were all military actions for Japan to hold sway over Korea. Japan colonized Korea in the name of annexation in 1910 and turned it into a base for aggression on China through merciless repression and plunder.

The US and Soviet armies appeared in the Korean Peninsula after World War II. Their sole alleged aim was to dispose of the postwar affairs—the disarmament of the Japanese army

and its repatriation.

In the two parts of Korea, however, there came into being two separate states with differing systems—the “Republic of Korea” and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Thus the US armed forces have been stationing up to this date in south Korea. The presence of the US troops and its naval bases in south Korea is a deployment of armed forces aiming not merely at military confrontation with the DPRK, but at attacking the Soviet Union in the north. Every military expert knows this.

PEACE AND REUNIFICATION—COMMON DESIRE OF THE NATION

I suppose that in this late autumn poplars at the 38th parallel have started dropping their leaves. From this Military Demarcation Line one can see cultivated fields stretching up to the Line and clean houses of co-op farms being scattered about in the north, and in the south a four-kilometre-wide zone of wilderness overgrown with weeds. They say nuclear mines are laid in this off-limits area. No other scenes will present such a symbolical north-south contrast as it.

The Republic, upholding the Juche idea, is following the line of national independence, while the south is gradually falling deeper into the policy of toadying to the United States and depending on Japan.

The United States’ concern about the Korean Peninsula is simply a military one, and Japan pursues economic pillage. In this condition there can be no sound growth of economy in south Korea. Under the superficial slogan of increase of the gross national product and prosperity of the towns it is hard pressed for the redemption of a foreign debt of over 6,300 million dollars and has an annual deficit of 2,000 million dollars

in foreign trade since the oil crisis. The living standard of the people except the privileged class called "five bandits" has not been improved at all.

In the north, however, the Six-Year Plan for economic construction was fulfilled in October 1975 one year and four months ahead of the set time, provisions are completely self-sufficient, and the people's life improves year after year in all aspects of food, clothing and sheltering.

Particularly it is pouring all its energies into education: The universal 11-year compulsory education is in force, and the whole country is a school and the whole people pupils and students.

The politics of south Korea where dictatorship and corruption have reached the crowning point cannot but be called fascism. The democratic struggle of the opposition parties, intellectuals, religionists and students is steamrollered.

The Pak regime has now become a target of denunciation at home and abroad for imposing heavy penalties upon the eighteen persons including Kim Dae Jung for their Declaration for Democratic National Salvation announced on March 1st, the memorial day of Independence Movement in which all Koreans rose and fought the Japanese troops and police with empty hands.

On September 1st, even the House's Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States adopted a resolution denouncing the Pak regime for its policy of suppression of human rights.

Ranard, Ex-State Department Korea Chief of the US, laid bare the fact that the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency had had an intention of killing Kim Dae Jung on the Tsushima Straits after illegally abducting him from Japan. Various anti-popular crimes committed by the KCIA are no less than those of the USCIA.

A closer look at the concrete facts about north and south Korea, and you will be only surprised to see a stupendous difference of day and night between the two. The north-south gap in people's mental and physical happiness is unimaginably wide.

It is certain, however, that there exists an earnest common desire, a hope of greatest common measure, in the hearts of the Korean people living separated in the north and the south. Their first desire is peace. The Korean nation's aspiration for peace is, I think, as firm as the resolution of the Japanese people who have decided "not to take up arms again" because they suffered untold sufferings driven out to the Pacific War by their government and military authorities.

The Korean war, a fratricidal war caused by the US armed intervention, wrought sad havoc with the north and south of the 38th parallel as though a steamroller had crushed them. It remains too vivid in our memory.

Perhaps the people both in the north and south do not want the recurrence of a war that would scorch the whole of their land. Along with peace the entire Korean nation aspires after north-south reunification. Representing this aspiration the North-South Joint Statement was announced on July 4th, 1972, which clarified the following principles: Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without relying on outside force or being subject to its interference; secondly, reunification should be realized peacefully without recourse to the use of armed force against the other side; thirdly, great national unity should be promoted as one nation above anything else, transcending the differences of ideology, ideals and social systems.

The later developments, however, have rather been the reverse of these principles to give the impression of darkening the hope for reunification as a thing of distant future.

However, it is only a few leaders of the south who cry for military confrontation and reunification by prevailing over communism. No one can break the will of the nation to march ahead toward the great goal of peace and reunification.

THE ABUSE OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY US IMPERIALISM

With a view to dividing and dominating Korea US imperialism extremely abused the United Nations whose mission it is to maintain world peace and promote friendship and cooperation among the nations. In the 1943 Cairo Declaration the United States, China and Great Britain recognized the sovereignty and independence of Korea, but the session of the UN Little Assembly held in February 1948 adopted a resolution on holding a separate election in south Korea. On this basis, a separate election was held under UN supervision in south Korea in May of the same year and the "Government of the Republic of Korea" headed by Syngman Rhee was established.

The UN General Assembly at its session in December that year decided: "The Government of the Republic of Korea is the sole government in Korea." This, however, was nothing more than a false declaration ignoring the vivid historical fact that an election for the deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly had been held in August that year and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea founded in September.

When the Korean war broke out on June 25, 1950 the United States called for the reopening of the UN Security Council and let it adopt a resolution defining the Republic as a "destroyer of peace" within that day. On June 27 it adopted a resolution advising the member states to dispatch "troops to aid south Korea". Besides, on July 7 it passed a resolution on placing the "troops to aid south Korea" under the united headquarters led by the US army commander and permitting the use of the UN flag for it.

In this way, the United States could behave itself at its will using the United Nations as a voting machine. One of its

reasons was that the Soviet Union was employing a tactic of absence from the Security Council in demand of the right of representation for the People's Republic of China. This absence of its veto right was misused by the United States.

Besides, in this while the notorious United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was rigged up with countries of strong pro-American, anti-communist colours to replace the United Nations Commission on Korea.

In February 1951 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning the Government of the People's Republic of China as an "aggressor", and in its May resolution it advised its member states to establish an economic blockade against the DPRK and China. At the US manipulation the United Nations played an extremely reactionary role.

After the three-odd-year long hostilities the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed in July 1953 between the Supreme Commander of the DPRK and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers on one side and the Commander-in-Chief of the UN forces on the other. The commander of the "ROK" army did not participate in the signing of this agreement.

The Korean question was discussed mechanically every year at the UN General Assembly sessions from the tenth in 1955 to the twenty-fifth in 1970, but with no result. It was a customary practice that the United States, Japan and other capitalist countries, in defiance of the opposition of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the third world's countries of Asia and Africa, approved the annual report of the UNCURK and the continued presence of the UN forces in south Korea.

Even in these years, however, the votes cast for the US-sponsored resolution on the Korean question showed a gradual decrease, though they had been 70 per cent at first. In the second half of the 1960's the figure fell down to the mark of 50 and more, a bare majority.

Let me review the recent three years. At the 1973 session of the UN General Assembly two opposite resolutions were pre-

sented by the two groups, one supporting the north and the other the south, and a document of agreement on the dissolution of the UNCURK was adopted at last.

At the General Assembly session in 1974 the "evasion resolution" (to the effect that the Korean question should be entrusted to the Security Council instead of the General Assembly) submitted by the pro-south Korean group was passed by a tie vote. And the resolution tabled next by the group supporting north Korea which demanded, "A declaration of the dissolution of the United Nations forces in south Korea should be made at the General Assembly, not at the Security Council", was not adopted also by a tie vote. It is noteworthy, however, that the group favouring north Korea succeeded in getting the same number.

At the session of the General Assembly in 1975 the resolution submitted by China, Algeria, the Soviet Union and others in favour of north Korea was carried by a 54-43 majority with 42 abstentions.

In spite of the backstage manoeuvrings of Japan and the United States through money and connections the countries supporting south Korea are decreasing in number year after year, while those supporting the Republic are on a steady increase. This fact can be clearly seen in the resolutions of the UN. It cannot be overlooked that both resolutions of the two sides called for the dissolution of the UN Command in south Korea.

Nevertheless, the United States refused to dissolve the UN Command, and the spokesman of the US Mission to the UN uttered a queer statement: "The US troops in south Korea are stationed according to the 'US-ROK Mutual Defence Pact'; they are the US army stationed in south Korea which has nothing to do with the UN." The United States and south Korean authorities put up all kinds of pretexts, but the international public opinion went so far as not to admit the presence in south Korea of the US troops in the helmets of the UN forces.

At the 1976 session of the UN General Assembly the 33

member states including Algeria, China and the Soviet Union which support the Republic were quick in submitting a resolution which includes the following points: the General Assembly firstly demands the immediate cessation of all acts of foreign military involvement and aggression against Korea and the immediate withdrawal of new types of weapons including nuclear weapons; secondly, appeals to all the UN members to check all acts of interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and fabricating "two Koreas" to hinder the reunification; thirdly, hopes that the reunification will be realized without the interference of any outside forces, through forms of negotiations and dialogue which may extensively reflect the will of all the nation, in accordance with the July 4th Joint Statement; fourthly, reaffirming that the "UN Command" should be dissolved, all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the UN flag should be withdrawn and that the Armistice Agreement should be replaced with a peace agreement, considers that substantial measures should be arranged at the earliest possible date to realize them.

This most pertinent resolution fully conforms and accords with what the Republic has consistently held and worked for.

In the meantime, 19 member states favouring south Korea including the United States and Japan tabled a moderate resolution titled, "Promotion of the North-South Dialogue". Though it is drawn up with plausible words, no mention has been made of the withdrawal of foreign troops, thereby revealing the intention of continually admitting the stationing of the US army in south Korea and helping perpetuate the division of the north and the south. In order to pass this "alternative resolution" at any rate the US and Japanese governments stretched their hands to third world's countries and made desperate efforts to gain their votes, using economic aid as bait. If the Lockheed scandal is called an international bribery scandal by a war company, this economic aid should be called a bribery case and a wicked interference in other's internal affairs by a state.

There was a forecast that this year, too, an attempt would

be made to cook up a "tie", but this is reminiscent of the reckless attempt of Japan not to admit the Chinese representation in the United Nations. Embarrassed at a positive climate in the United Nations for invitation of Peking and expulsion of Taiwan, Japan and the United States came out with a new proposal that decision of an important matter requires a two-thirds and above majority vote, not a slim majority vote. It was designed to get out of a fix.

However, at the 1971 session of the UN General Assembly the draft resolution on inviting the legal representative of China was adopted by an overwhelming majority of 76 to 35 with 17 abstained.

There is no doubt that the day will surely come when the resolution supporting the Republic in regard to the Korean question wins an overwhelming majority.

In August 1976 the Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries was held in Colombo, capital of Sri Lanka, as a great conference attended by delegations and observers from over 100 countries including official delegations from 85 countries and organizations. The conference adopted "Resolution on Korean Question", which runs:

1. The Conference holds that the imperialist war provocation manoeuvres in south Korea should be stopped immediately; all the war means including nuclear weapons introduced into south Korea be removed; all the foreign troops be withdrawn from south Korea; the foreign military bases be dismantled and the Korean Military Armistice Agreement be replaced by a peace agreement.

2. Regarding that the reunification of Korea should be realized by the Korean people themselves through negotiations and dialogue in such modus as Great National Congress which will widely reflect all nation's will, free from any interference of outside forces, in accordance with the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity clarified in the North-South Joint Statement of July 4, 1972, the Conference expresses its firm solidarity with the Govern-

ment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people in their struggle for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

3. In order to oppose the imperialist machination to provoke a new war in Korea, prevent any state from encouraging Korea's division or hampering its reunification and help the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the non-aligned countries shall take concerted action in the international organizations and international conferences.

The road is one, and there exist no two truths. It merits attention that the resolution on the Korean question adopted at the Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries is in full accord with the resolution of the member states supporting the Republic submitted to the UN General Assembly.

To give an all-out support to the policy of the Republic for national reunification has already become a trend of the world. The Japanese media spread some observations that there was a cold reaction to north Korea or that north Korea was isolated from the third world. But a cursory glance will clearly show which of the north and the south is isolated.

It is a stark reality that the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Countries held in Lima, capital of Peru, in August 1975 recognized the admission of the Republic and rejected that of south Korea.

At present the Republic has diplomatic relations with 90 odd countries most of which are countries of the third world. Friendly intercourse between these countries and the Republic by visit or invitation has become further brisk in the recent years.

The Republic is winning the trust and respect of the world by actively supporting the third world's people in their struggle against imperialism for national liberation.

In particular, the struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea receives sympathy and support from the third world. The solidarity between the Republic and the third world and their joint struggle will make a vigorous advance,

overcoming interruption and slanders on the part of the capitalist camp.

THE US ARMY STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA—THE ROOT CAUSE OF ALL EVILS

There was a clash between the security personnel of the north and the south in the Joint Security Area of Panmunjom on August 18, 1976 and two US army officers were killed. The incident took place because the US side tried to fell arbitrarily a poplar tree in the Joint Security Area. Any change of circumstances in the area requires the mutual consent of the two sides in advance. But they disregarded it.

Axes were lethal weapons used by US soldiers. I think the two American officers were killed by their own weapons captured by the guards of the north in the melee.

This incident is reminiscent of the case of the US spy ship *Pueblo* which was captured in 1968 with a crew of 80 men including her captain Bucher by the navy of the Republic after intruding into the territorial waters of Korea and the case of the US spy plane *EC-121* with 31-man crew which was shot down in the air of Korea in 1969.

This shows the fundamental attitude of the Republic which severely punishes the aggressor, the provoker, and never pardons him and, at the same time, proves that the cause of all incidents lies in the US army.

Nevertheless, the United States and south Korea described the above incident as a premeditated murderous act of north Korea. Whether it was a planned murder by north Korea or a provocative act by the south was fully evidenced by the subsequent action of the US army and the process of the incident itself. On August 21, three days after the incident President

Ford issued an order to cut down the poplar tree in question by force.

It resembles the way hooligans pick a fight.

The US army introduced into south Korea a squadron of "F-4 Phantoms" from the Kadena base in Japan, sent deep into the waters of Korea a naval task force consisting of the atomic-powered aircraft carrier Midway, a cruiser and frigates from Yokosuka, and sent a wing of "F-111" fighter-bombers from the US mainland and a wing of "B-52" strategic bombers from the Guam base. Thus it continued to perpetrate undisguised acts of blackmail for a demonstration of strength.

On September 1 US Assistant Secretary of State Habib prattled at the International Political and Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives: "The recent incident was provoked by the north Korean side. The situation was coped with in time by assuming a posture of confrontation with a large-scale mobilization of US troops."

This is an announcement distorting the fact as if the US troops stationed in south Korea were functioning as a deterrent force; it is the height of falsehood indeed. Further escalation of the incident was in fact prevented by the calm, self-possessed action of the Republic which approached it with a firm resolve of self-defence, and the United States could not but take down its raised fist.

Such assertions as "for the frustration of aggression from the north", "an effective deterrent force", and "the presence of the US troops in the Korean Peninsula for the defence of peace and security of Korea", are just the same with the pretext that "the US troops were sent to the Indochinese Peninsula for the peace and security of south Korea and for the defence of the freedom and democracy of the Vietnamese people". Needless to say, it is a sheer lie to cover up the intention of US imperialism.

The Soviet army and the Chinese People's Volunteers which had been sent to the Korean Peninsula after World War II were completely withdrawn from it, and none of foreign

troops is to be seen in north Korea at present.

In south Korea, however, the US troops in the helmets of the UN forces are shamelessly entrenched still today when the voices demanding the withdrawal of all foreign troops are mounting higher following the decision of the dissolution of the UN Command.

They may be compared to more than 40,000 vipers which crawl about the Korean Peninsula and coil up raising their crooked necks nearby the Military Demarcation Line. The strong poison of these vipers is nuclear weapons. More than 1,000 nuclear bombs which are 820 times greater than the explosion of the atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima were shipped into south Korea. The US Defence Secretary even mouthed loudly that the United States would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons in case of the outbreak of another war in Korea.

It is often the case with the United States that in a year of presidential election there occurred incidents aimed to look for votes by such jingoistic scheme. For example, in 1964 the United States escalated its aggression on Indochina on the pretext that a US destroyer was attacked by torpedo boats of North Vietnam in the Bach Bo Bay.

The current incident, too, is said to have been prompted by the impatience of President Ford who lost his reputation to the Democratic candidate Carter.

Irrespective of whether it is to look for the support of the American people or to provoke a new war in Korea, the Korean Peninsula is in a constant crisis at which a great war may break out over such a trifling matter as felling a tree.

The factor of that crisis, that is, the fuse to explode the powder magazine, is none other than the US troops stationed in south Korea. It is not too much to say that the root cause of all evils in Korea is the presence of foreign troops. Without the withdrawal of these troops and their bases and nuclear weapons there can be no peace and security in Asia.

On top of it, during this incident the Japanese government rather fanned up the outrage of the US army men than protest-

ed against or overlooked it. When a MIG-25 made an emergency landing on the Hakodate airfield on September 6, the Japanese government, ignoring the strong demand of the Soviet Union, tried to examine and discover the military secret of the plane in cooperation with the United States. This revealed in all nakedness her posture of dependence on the United States under the Japan-US security system. When considering the distant future of the Japan-Soviet relationship, to show fidelity to the United States by supplying materials on a new-type fighter plane is a shortsighted action which will put Japan at a decisive disadvantage in meeting the demand of the return of her northern territory and solving other problems. The present government seems not to know it owing to the inner-party strife. How dangerous to Japan are her way of thinking to preserve her security by use of Korea's north-south confrontation, alleging that "the security of south Korea is indispensable for that of Japan", and her military diplomacy of joining in the US army's actions of provocation and blackmail. There is no need to explain this with the past battered alliance of Japan, Germany and Italy.

The policy towards Korea of the Japanese government which presents a resolution approving the split of Korea and the stationing of the US troops to the UN General Assembly, helps them have their own way and joins in their aggression on Asia by means of the bases in Japan and the nuclear weapons and US naval and air forces deployed in south Korea shows her disregard for the destiny of the Korean nation and endangers the peace of Asia and Japan. This can never be tolerated.

We Japanese people strongly protest against this state of affairs and call for a radical change in the diplomatic and military policies of the Japanese government.

(From the 1976 issue No. 11 of the magazine *Toitsu Hyoron* published in Japan)

“PRESENCE OF US TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA—THE MAIN OBSTACLE IN THE WAY OF KOREA’S REUNIFICATION”



ANDRE AUBRY

French Senator

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Government delegates, representatives of political, trade union and social organizations from all continents and of different ideological trends, your presence today at this conference enhances the prestige of the World Conference in Support of the Peaceful Reunification of Korea and guarantees its success. It also proves that the conference of this sort is necessary. The question of Korea is posed in original and specific terms while it belongs to the great problems of our time. Hence, it attracts the attention of all the world people, man and woman, young and old, who value the ideas of national independence, freedom and peace.

Korea is a nation that is rooted in a thousands-year long history, long territorial integrity, language and culture of vigorous originality. No one imagined the national reunification

of Korea would offer a serious problem when she threw off the harsh oppression by Japanese imperialism in August 1945. Thirty-two years have passed since this country was split along what we can say should be a mere temporary demarcation line which has been turned into a most closed frontier of our time.

I would not refer to the cause of split and its inhuman consequences, for Mr. Ichikawa Makoto gave a concrete account of it in his keynote report. However, it seems to me necessary to stress that what is at issue is the right of the people to carve out their future by themselves. Because since 32 years ago the outside forces are seeking to prevent the Korean people from exercising their inalienable rights and because Korea, after having been turned into an arena of a horrible aggressive war, still remains a zone of serious tension, a crucible, a veritable powder magazine.

Allow me to remind you of some facts here. The United States is keeping in the south of the 38th parallel 42,000 strong troops that are well-equipped and supported by the vast supply facilities which Pentagon has built in the north Pacific, more accurately, on Guam Island and Japan Islands centred around Okinawa base. The Intelligence Bureau of the US Department of Defence admitted existence of enormous stockpile of nuclear weapons and mass destruction devices in south Korea. Among them are 192 nuclear bombs carried by "F-4" Phantom bombers, 144 nuclear warheads for the ground-to-ground missile "Honest John" and 12 nuclear warheads for the ground-to-air missile "Sergeant".

Meanwhile, the United States continues to supply a large amount of military equipment to the troops of the Seoul regime. It amounted to 633 million dollars in the short period from June 1975 to May 1976. It was aimed to modernize the 700,000 strong army plus three million strong "Homeland Reserve Army". Besides, there is the four-odd million strong "Civil Defence Corps" in which 1,500,000 middle school, high school and college students are forcibly embraced. The army which served as cannon-fodder in the aggressive war against the Vietnamese

people for many years has acquired vast experience in suppression of people and execution of atrocities. The regular training of this army is intensive and brutal, as certain reportages telecasted in Switzerland, France and other countries show. Joint exercise of arms and services is frequently staged. For instance, joint exercise was carried out in the area of Pohang from March 25 to April 21, 1975 between the south Korean troops and the US troops with the transportation of the US marine corps stationed in Okinawa. So-called "nine-day operation", "seven-day operation" and others were worked out proceeding from the conception of a "blitz war". Besides, several exercises were carried out to try out the possibility of airlift of the US troops from their bases in the Pacific and even from those in the American mainland by giant transports of the "Galaxy C-5 A".

It is evident that such a situation is fraught with danger from the military point of view. Concentration of enormous military equipment and armed forces—deployment of 400,000 troops in a round-the-clock alert along the Military Demarcation Line—regular excessive training and wild anti-communist propaganda—all this might explode the powder magazine at any moment despite the existence of the Armistice Commission.

The danger of war is real and ever more imminent since there is a stockpile of nuclear weapons and the Seoul dictatorship does not hide its wild dream to acquire nuclear weapons. In other words, in case unfortunately a new war breaks out on the Korean peninsula, it will be more destructive and murderous than that of 1950 and bring about indescribable results. I cannot help but remind you of the US Defence Department bosses Schlesinger and Rumsfeld's statements dated June 20, 1975 and May 27, 1976 that the use of nuclear weapons is under careful consideration in case of hostilities in Korea. The US ruling circles seek to justify maintenance of their troops in south Korea and military aid to the Seoul regime, prating about Korea being within the perimeter of the "forward defence zone" of the United States and the "threat of aggression from the nor-

th". What is it in reality?

The first argument, namely that on the "forward defence zone", was applied to other regions to bring the United States to wage atrocious aggressive wars against Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples over ten years. People know what was the outcome.

Who can dare say today the security of the American people is threatened by the independence of the Indochinese peoples? Who can allege that the United States is threatened with aggression by the Korean people far inferior in numbers and in the way of military and technological means and living several thousand kilometres away from the American coast? Judging from the balance of forces in the world it is hardly believable that presence of the American troops south of the demarcation line can protect the United States against the intercontinental ballistic missile. The reverse would be more true in the sense that presence of US troops is designed to keep the hotbed of tension fraught with the danger of nuclear conflict in Korea. It is ever more so, for there is no foreign troops on the territory of the DPRK. As is known, the Government of the DPRK proposed conclusion of a peace treaty between the DPRK and the United States.

What is true with the United States is true with Japan. In their official statements and international documents the ruling circles of Japan alleged that the security of their territory depends on that of south Korea. However, Japan is the third economic power in the world and has enormous military potential. When did the DPRK present the least threat to Japan? However, it seems to us that those circles who turned Korea into a colony through war and harshly plundered her over 35 years are impudent enough to incriminate the people who ardently desire to live reunited. Facts show that the argument about the "threat of aggression from the north" serves them as a justification of intensified domination of the Japanese big enterprises over the south Korean economy and promotion of the Washington-Tokyo-Seoul military alignment. What deserves seri-

ous attention in this regard is the formation of the "Japan-US Defence Consultative Committee" in July 1975 whose mission is to make provision for joint operation in case of war in Korea.

Does there really exist the "threat of aggression from the north" against south Korea? As another report presented to this conference shows, this allegation is founded on the fabrication of history and, more concretely, serves a mere shield to cover up the cause in case of resumption of hostilities in Korea. Obviously it is not our case. However, supposing the fear of the "threat of aggression on the south" is grounded, there naturally may arise a question why then the Government of the DPRK advances cessation of armament race and reduction of military equipment and armed forces as the correct way to the settlement of the question. Concerning this capital point, the DPRK Government advanced concrete and constructive proposals time and again. These proposals are based on the respectable three basic principles of national reunification, which the south Korean authorities accepted in the important July 4, 1972 Joint Statement:

- complete independence, that is, exclusion of all kinds of interference;
- non-use of arms, consequently, respect of peaceful way;
- great national unity, that is, achievement of unity with due regard to the existing differences between the north and the south in political, economic, cultural and philosophical domains.

The recent proposal on the convocation of a north-south political consultative meeting to discuss problems to be settled on the above-mentioned three principles is a new initiative of weighty significance for the speedy realization of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. It was advanced again in its appeal by the Joint Conference of the Political Parties and Social Organizations held in Pyongyang on January 25, 1977.

The presence of the US troops in south Korea serves the main factor of tension in this region of the world and, consequently, it, whether they desire it or not, is an obstacle in the

way to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. It voluntarily or involuntarily authorizes the suppression of patriots and democratic personages, numerous religious men in particular, in south Korea. These are reasons behind the demand to put into effect the resolution of the 30th UN General Assembly claiming dissolution of the "UN Command in south Korea", withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea, replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace treaty.

According to the reports and statement which agree with each other, the new administration of the United States is said to be likely to change the policy of blockade and confrontation pursued so far by the American leaders. With yet uncertain indications in our hands, it will be useless to speak at length. Fundamentally speaking, it is, of course, a matter for the parties directly concerned to determine the position. For our part, we are ready to support any step forward if it is a new step, new progress for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

It will be just to call the question of Korea an important one of our time. It is a question of the future of a dignified, afflicted people, a people that, no doubt, want to live peacefully. It is an important question concerning cessation of armament race and peace as well. Hence, in view of the interests of both the Korean people as well as our people it is urgent to allow the Korean people to be master of their destiny. This world conference, no doubt, will make contribution to this effect.

(From the document on the World Conference in Support of the Peaceful Reunification of Korea, the 1977 edition of the French Publishing House "Alfred Eibel")

“US IMPERIALISM, HANDS OFF KOREA!”



CHRISTIAN REMI RICHARD

**Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of
Madagascar**

Comrade Chairman,
Esteemed delegates,
Dear friends,

I, as a delegate from Korea's most friendly country, would like to convey with deep emotion the fraternal greetings of the Malagasy people and their distinguished leader President Didier Ratsiraka to the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung and the Korean people.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I also categorically and openly reaffirm that the Malagasy Government and people give unshakable support to the independent, peaceful national reunification, the greatest desire of the Korean people.

The International Seminar on the Juche Idea which was just closed suggested that the delegates of over 70 countries from all continents might meet at one place again and discuss this problem which forms an important link in the maintenance of the world's peace, especially the peace in Asia.

In order to hasten to the utmost the day when the big family of Korea will live in peace on the land handed down by their ancestors, we must know what tasks we have before us and review the struggle already carried out.

For more than 30 years the brave Korean people, guided by the immortal Juche idea, have waged a courageous struggle for the reunification of their divided country in concert with all the progressive people who love peace and justice.

The Korean people under the wise guidance of the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung have chosen the path of Juche to put their highest aspiration into practice. Namely, they hold that the reunification should be achieved independently by the Korean people themselves without outside interference, in a peaceful way and on a democratic principle.

Proceeding from this, the father of Juche has exerted effort for a long period to explain the reunification question to heads of States or governments of all countries friendly to the Korean people who had the privilege of visiting the Land of Morning Calm.

President Kim Il Sung, the great thinker and indomitable fighter, condescended to give many talks and write a number of works for the people of the whole world. These talks and works have been carried in leading newspapers, and the latter are listed among those which are most widely distributed in numerous countries of all the continents. One who saw the exhibition of works of President Kim Il Sung organized during the Seminar could realize it fully.

Besides, the Government of the DPRK put forward reasonable proposals on reunification which are acceptable to all. They are the five-point programme for national reunification set forth by President Kim Il Sung and the four-point proposal advanced by the joint meeting of various political parties and social organizations in January 1977.

On the international arena, the DPRK has won one victory after another. Proof of it is the adoption of resolutions favouring the DPRK at the 30th session of the UNGA and at the 5th

Summit Conference of Non-aligned Nations at Colombo.

All these undoubtedly are the positive results, but we must not fall into a peaceful sleep. Struggle must be continued and intensified until the final victory is won.

We are facing the challenge of the imperialists, their accomplices and stooges who try to reverse the current of history. Accordingly, we must take it up with our strength, revolutionary ardor and militant solidarity we have renewed by dint of the Juche idea of which we had a deeper study till a little while ago.

Following up the victories hitherto won, we must render active support to the fraternal Korean people with redoubled courage.

We can put faith in this great patriotic people who have been educated in the method of Juche and performed singular exploits by bringing successive defeats to two imperialist powers in a quarter of a century.

For a greater victory and vigorous advance in unity, let's take every opportunity to expose and denounce the "two Koreas" manoeuvres of the imperialists, their accomplices and stooges.

We must frustrate their fantastic dream to admit "two Koreas" into the United Nations. The Korean people with a time-honoured history of over 5,000 years will never tolerate the division.

The overwhelming majority of the Korean people in the north and the south are aspiring after reunification and striving hard to realize their greatest desire. For Korea is one and indivisible, and belongs to the Korean people.

The imperialists in conspiracy with the puppet clique have reduced south Korea to a foreign military base, a hotbed of war which will lead to human destruction, and a big prison notorious for its infringement upon human rights.

For the puppet regime known as the culmination of shame, there is no room in the international organizations. What the south Korean puppet clique is doing is contrary to either the

UN Charter or the Declaration of Human Rights.

As can be seen, the "two Koreas" theory is no more than a fantastic dream which is rejected at home and forsaken abroad.

Only a united Korea alone will be welcomed by the international community. We must all make every effort to accelerate Korea's reunification and thereby lessen tension in Asia and bring durable peace to the world.

It is now three years since the 30th session of the UNGA adopted a resolution favourable to the DPRK.

However, as they do not readily abandon their habit, the imperialists keep abusing the United Nations' authority and maintain the so-called "UN Command" under the flag of the United Nations, disregarding the resolution of the highest international organization.

They try to get time while intensifying reckless provocative machinations.

It is quite intolerable that so important a resolution of the international community fails to yield desired results. At this General Assembly our delegations will have an opportunity of making a speech in this regard.

Since the resolution calls for the dissolution of the "UN Command," especially the withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea, our struggle too will be geared to performing our task as UN Member States, thereby contributing to bringing about Korea's reunification and guaranteeing peace.

Comrade Chairman,

Dear Friends,

We Malagasy people do not have the least doubt about the final victory. Our conviction is in the main based on the following two reasons:

Firstly, we hold an unshakable belief in the sagacity and heroism of the fraternal Korean people who are carrying out the three revolutions, ideological, technical and cultural, at the speed of Chollima under the leadership of the father of the Juche idea.

The speech made by the delegate of the Revolutionary Party for Reunification at the International Seminar on the Juche Idea definitely showed us that the south Korean patriots have been struggling to fulfil the greatest desire of the nation. Neither threat nor torture could repress the ardent desire of the true sons and daughters of Korea who are looking forward to the advent of the day when they will be able to live together with their families in the north, receiving the fatherly love of His Excellency President Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved leader of the Korean people.

Herein lies the inspiring evidence of the unanimous will of the Korean people, the will to accomplish their greatest desire.

Victory is in store for the Korean people!

Secondly, we are firmly assured of the invariable sincere support of the progressive people who love peace and justice.

In fact, the number of countries supporting the cause of Korea is increasing on all the continents with each passing day.

All this resulted in the adoption of resolutions favouring Korea at the United Nations and in the non-alignment movement.

Such splendid developments are clearly shown by the number of countries that participated in the Seminar and by the letters from heads of States and governments and various organizations friendly to Korea.

That is why we supported the proposal of the delegation of the Government of the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic to adopt in the name of the Pyongyang Seminar a resolution calling on all countries to sever all their relations with Seoul.

Comrade Chairman,
Esteemed delegates,

We have passed very pleasant days, enriching our knowledge and exchanging mutually beneficial experiences under the banner of Juche.

To express our gratitude to the father of the immortal

Juche idea for his solicitude shown to us, I would like to make from this high platform the following ardent appeal:

Let's all return to our homelands as revolutionary fighters, faithful peace champions armed with the Juche idea, and widen our theatre of action for common struggle for Korea's reunification and durable peace in our respective continents and countries.

By implementing the strategy of Juche in this way, we will give the imperialists, colonialists and racists no breathing spell.

We will pull down their strongholds in Asia, the Near and Middle East, Africa, Latin America and in all other areas.

In actuality, the forces of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, racism and reaction have not yet been disarmed. They constitute a constant threat to our revolutions and the revolutions of all peoples fighting for freedom, liberation and independence.

This threat is made especially against the third world countries.

Korea is kept divided in Asia, and in Africa the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe are made victims of oppression and the Comoro people are deprived of their right to territorial integrity.

Other African countries are in a state of instability and the countries in the area of the Indian Ocean are also insecure due to the force that has entrenched itself there.

In the Near and Middle East the Palestinians have been dispossessed of more of their territory, and in Latin America the revolutionary peoples are threatened with interference of imperialist domination.

In conclusion, I would like to quote the following words of President Didier Ratsiraka:

"Revolution is undoubtedly the work to be carried out by the people of each country. However, each revolution is a link in the big chain of struggle of the progressive forces for defea-

ting the reactionary and imperialist forces, and this revolution for human liberation is going beyond the bounds of a country to extend on a worldwide scale. This we must know."

"UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT TRY TO KEEP KOREA DIVIDED"



FRANCES M. BEAL

**Chairman of the Juche Idea Study Group in
the USA and General Manager, *Guardian***

We are aware that the single most important cause of the tragic national division of the Korean nation is the intervention of US imperialism on the side of the south Korean fascists and partitionists. They have been propped up by one US administration after another since Korea was illegally occupied by the American military in the aftermath of World War II.

One thing is sure: You can always expect an imperialist to act like an imperialist. Therefore, it comes with little surprise that the Carter administration, which represents the same ruling imperialist circles in the United States as his predecessors, is continuing the traditional US policy of backing the Seoul "administration" and opposing any move toward reunification.

He is doing this in spite of his pre-election campaign pledge to withdraw all 40,000 US troops and adopt a new policy toward Korea.

Having fooled the American electorate—who like millions of people around the world, have a burning desire for peace—President Carter immediately began to compromise his cam-

paign promises.

Taken as a whole, his new proposal is no proposal at all. In essence it stipulates:

1. The gradual withdrawal of many—but by no means all—US troops by the year 1982.

2. Leaving 8,000 to 10,000 US Air Force personnel in south Korea after 1982.

3. Keeping nuclear weapons and jet aircraft in place.

4. Giving more military and other aid to the Pak regime.

5. Retaining the US Navy in the East Sea of Korea which would directly threaten the DPRK.

In general, Carter's scheme appears designed to convince the American people and world opinion of his "peaceful intention" in the region while at the same time assuring the south Korean puppets that US military personnel and armaments would continue to remain at their immediate disposal.

Even if we were foolish enough to take Carter at face value, a gradual withdrawal of US troops over a five-year period strongly suggests that no troop pullout from south Korea will take place during Carter's tenure in office.

In addition, it is ludicrous to suggest that Air Force personnel don't constitute armed occupation. This is a far cry from Carter's campaign pledges to withdraw all US troops from south Korea.

The Carter administration's duplicity is further exposed by the stipulation that US troop withdrawal would take place with the full agreement of the south Korean authorities and the Japanese government.

The Pak Jung Hi puppet clique is doing everything in its power to subvert any possibility of even a partial troop withdrawal, and Japan also opposes this move.

The Korean Central Intelligence Agency has for years been bribing US members of Congress to insure that they will oppose any withdrawal moves. It is even working closely with US right-wing forces to create problems within the US whenever the subject of withdrawal is mentioned. Many of you are fami-

liar with the General Singlaub affair when Carter removed this bloodthirsty militarist for his insubordinate, warmongering statements in reaction to Carter's announced plans for troop withdrawal from Korea. You may not all be aware, however, that after the general was publicly reprimanded by Carter and removed from his post in Korea, the US President actually promoted the general and gave him a larger and more important command with the US! All these show vividly that Carter has no intention of relinquishing control of south Korea.

At the same time, on the diplomatic front, the Carter administration has been working day and night behind the scene to promote a two-Koreas conception.

Given the tremendous development of the DPRK on all fronts—militarily, economically, politically—and given the ever-increasing prestige the DPRK has earned in the international arena, particularly amongst the developing nations of the third world, the imperialist strategists have apparently relinquished their former policy of direct confrontation and destruction of the DPRK for the time being.

In a desperate move to salvage whatever they can from a steadily deteriorating situation, the US aggressors are trying to consolidate their hold on south Korea by creating a permanent partition of the Korean peninsula.

But Korea is one nation. No amount of wishful thinking can change this reality. The Korean people are one people with a history that goes back 5,000 years. Progressive peoples throughout the world have condemned these insidious manoeuvres including those in the United States.

On the other hand, we are aware that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has promulgated one reasonable proposal after another to reunify Korea, only to be met with rejection by the US imperialists and the Seoul fascists. The 5-point proposal for reunification remains the single reasonable proposal to end national division and achieve a united, prosperous and peaceful Korea.

It represents a concrete plan that can bring an end to the

tragic division of the Korean nation and people on terms that are more than just.

Only a handful of countries, led by US imperialism, and its Japanese partner oppose this plan. The Pak Jung Hi dictatorship, of course, fanatically opposes this plan and has sought to distort its meaning and sabotage its fulfilment in hundreds of ways.

But while the US government and the military and economic entities in whose interest it reigns, may reject this perspective, there is a growing body of thought in the United States, that support of the dictatorship must end. This realization has brought to birth a small, but increasing number of US citizens who adamantly oppose US policy in south Korea. They oppose the support of the brutal Pak regime and have reached broad sectors of the American population: staunch anti-imperialists and Communists of course, but also members of the church, Korean residents in the US, liberal forces, and humanitarian organizations.

The scandal that erupted when it was discovered that the Korean Central Intelligence Agency had bribed and corrupted a great number of US politicians, brought further attention to the fascist conditions prevailing in south Korea.

The outrage at the gross interference in the internal affairs of the US may seem ironic given the history of US meddling in the affairs of other countries, but the American populace became aroused nonetheless.

More people than ever before are conscious that a despotic, repressive regime, kept in place with US military and economic support, exists in south Korea. This provides an improved climate for those working to build solidarity and support for the Korean people within the United States.

I would like to highlight for you a number of actions that have taken place in the United States, in the recent period to support the just struggle of the Korean people for the establishment of democracy and reunification.

A petition campaign calling for withdrawal of US troops

from Korea gathered some 6,000 signatures that were released in June.

Several demonstrations and protests have been organized under a human rights banner. This has helped to expose the hypocrisy of Carter's alleged concern with this issue in public, and his firm support in private of the most repressive, most brutal regimes from Chile to South Africa and to south Korea.

Film showing and slide shows have been presented throughout the country at various universities and in a number of communities.

The Korea Research and Action Committee has begun publication of a new magazine devoted to withdrawal of US troops and peaceful reunification. Talks on US intervention in Korea have occurred in dozens of places and a more intensified outreach program is being planned for the fall.

The heavily publicized movie premiere of "MacArthur," a bourgeois glorification of the life of the notorious US general who ravaged the DPRK during the Korean War and to which several top Pentagon officials came was met by a militant protest action with banners condemning US aggression in Korea and calling for withdrawal of all troops and weapons immediately.

An important development was a conference which focused on US Korea policy. After exposing the increased repression presently taking place in south Korea, the 100 invited delegates from three continents and members of the public adopted resolutions calling for removal of all nuclear weapons from south Korea; withdrawal of all US troops and conventional weapons; the end to all US military and economic aid to Pak's regime; support for reunification; and a significant development, a demand that President Carter improve communications with the DPRK.

Another pertinent factor was the large number of Korean exiles in attendance. Many of them were former governmental and military officials under the Pak regime, which points to the growing disillusionment with the Pak dictatorship of broad

der sectors of the Korean people.

These included Dr. Channing Liem, former UN ambassador for the Seoul government; Brigadier General Sun Nam Choi, former chief of staff of the south Korea Signal Corps and others. In his speech, Dr. Liem stated: "A new direction of US policy regarding Korea must begin with the reaffirmation of the fact that Korea is one nation. Unification of Korea is a passion for the people of the DPRK. To the south Korean people, their national unification is not only a passion, it is essential to the survival of their country."

My own newspaper, the *Guardian*, which is the largest circulation, independent left weekly in North America as well as the Guardian Committee in Support of Korean Reunification, supported all of these activities and our members and readers took an active part nationwide.

Furthermore, in commemoration of the 65th birthday of respected President Kim Il Sung, our Guardian publications released Volume 1 of the book, *On Juche in Our Revolution*. Volume 2 of this collection had just been completed as I left the United States.

Dear Friends,

All these activities, though not yet substantial, show that the movement in support of the Korean people is on the rise in the United States. Many have expressed a renewed interest in the revolutionary process that is unfolding in the DPRK. Despite the bourgeois press boycott of pertinent information about the DPRK and the life of its people, through publications like the *Guardian*, and the activities of the Korean solidarity committees, some information is beginning to get past the self-imposed press censorship.

I have to admit, however, that our efforts in behalf of Korea are not yet adequate. The need to build mass sentiment against US policy in Korea is a task that still must be accomplished as was done in the case of Vietnam. Korea's importance to the world system of imperialism, as well as the military threat that US troops and munitions constitute, make the question of

Korea not just one for the Korean people alone. This must be a concern to all who choose liberty over oppression. This must be a concern to all who choose sovereignty over foreign rule.

As we continue to strengthen our activities in support of the Korean people, it is with the knowledge that the period ahead offers many dangers as well as good prospects. The Carter administration is two-faced and hypocritical. Its policy pronouncements often camouflage precisely the opposite intentions; the Pak clique in Seoul is growing more desperate and repressive, leaving open the possibility that the fascist dictatorship may launch aggressive moves in order to remain in power and prevent reunification.

Simultaneously, history is on the side of the great Korean people and the trend of world opinion has clearly shifted toward the side of peace, justice and progress in Korea. More and more countries and peoples are now coming to support the just cause of the Korean people and the correct proposals of the DPRK government.

In closing, I wish to assure you that, just as the US government is the principal cause of unrest in Korea, the US people—led by the progressive and Marxist-Leninist forces—have every intention of escalating their struggle until all foreign troops and weapons are withdrawn and the Korean people have the opportunity to determine their own future free from outside interference and internal fascist tyranny.

In the name of the progressive American peoples,
In the name of the peace-loving peoples of the world
Listen President Carter!

—Hands off Korea!

—Withdraw all troops and weapons immediately!

—End all military and economic aid to the fascist Pak regime!

LONG LIVE A PEACEFUL, PROSPEROUS AND
UNITED KOREA!

LONG LIVE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN U.S. AND KO-
REAN PEOPLE!

KOREA IS ONE; "TWO KOREAS"— SOPHISTRY OF SWINDLERS



HANAWA FUJIO

Deputy Director of the Secretariat of the "National Liaison Council of the Societies for Study of President Kim Il Sung's Works" of Japan

KOREA IS ONE

Until now when 32 years have already elapsed, the national reunification and peace aspired after by all the Korean people have not been realized in spite of much effort made by them.

Of late, particularly with the appearance of the "two-Koreas" policy, a scheme has been developed openly to perpetuate the split of the Korean nation against the earnest desire of the Korean people for national reunification. Since last year US President Carter has been contemplating the withdrawal of the US troops from the "Republic of Korea" which was one of his election pledges. His ulterior motive, however, is to pursue the "two Koreas" policy and fix the truce line as the border line. We should not overlook the fact that Carter's alleged withdrawal of the US ground force from the "Republic of Korea" is closely associated with his plan to maintain the puppet govern-

ment in south Korea.

On looking back on the past, the Korean people greeted liberation in great delight on August 15, 1945, after smashing the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism which lasted for 36 years.

However, the US imperialists, who had landed in south Korea shortly after, suppressed all the people's organizations and their leaders and put it under colonial rule again by applying an occupation policy.

They kept the reactionary machines left over by Japanese imperialism and divided Korea into north and south. And still today, they continue with their war provocation manoeuvres, manipulating the puppet government.

Both historically and actually, the greatest and main obstacle to Korea's reunification at present is US imperialism.

US imperialism is making a desperate attempt to secure by all means south Korea which is the last stronghold in its Far Eastern strategy. In the meantime, the reactionary ruling circles of Japan as a partner in the US strategy are actively helping the south Korean puppet government, thereby pursuing a Japan-US joint colonial policy.

Referring to this Japan-US relationship, great President Kim Il Sung said: **"The Asian peoples and the progressive peoples of the world are confronted today with the very urgent task of struggling against the revival of Japanese militarism while frustrating the aggression of US imperialism."** He also taught that no illusion should be harboured about Japanese militarism and no hope pinned on it.

From whatever point of view, whether from the viewpoint of the historical development of north and south Korea, or from the viewpoint of international laws, or from the humanitarian one, Korea should naturally be a single entity.

Reunification of Korea is the exercise of the right to national self-determination and it is the Korean people's fundamental right that never allows foreign interference and mediation.

The US imperialists and their troops who stepped into south Korea, wearing muddy boots, should withdraw immediately, and the Japanese militarists who have started their reinvasion as a US partner should also get out of south Korea together with them.

In order to isolate the imperialist aggressors headed by the United States, it is important to strengthen solidarity among the peoples of various countries of the world who are waging struggles to break the chains of slavery and oppression and achieve national liberation and independence. Among these struggles, particularly the struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea is inseparably linked with the struggle of the Japanese people.

At the United Nations the aggressive designs of US imperialism were repudiated on many occasions before, and its "authority" with which it ruled the roost in the United Nations in the past, using "aid" as the lever, is no longer workable. This bespeaks that the people of various countries of the world began to follow the line of independence and self-reliance that rejects dependence on others and opposes the colonialist-imperialist aggression; it also means that they took their start in history as its master to take charge of the new era.

About this new era, respected President Kim Il Sung said:

"The present age can be called an age of independence when the peoples who were oppressed and humiliated under the rule and yoke of great countries in the past, emerge as masters of the world and shape their destinies independently and creatively."

If we view the Korean issue from this angle, the reunification of Korea is primarily a task of the Korean people themselves, but the struggle to repulse the US imperialist and the Japanese militarist aggression and achieve their own national task is, at the same time, a struggle to play the role of a pioneer in the new era of independence.

The US imperialists who suffered an ignominious defeat

due to the victory of the Vietnamese people are now raving that they will keep their hold on south Korea even with the use of nuclear weapons.

In the 1950's when the United States was lording it over the imperialist camp and had built up a most secure ruling system on an international scale, the heroic Korean people defeated the US aggressive army, the self-styled strongest in the world. Today they have turned the Democratic People's Republic of Korea into a solid socialist industrial state.

I am convinced that united closely under the banner of Kimilsungism, the Korean people will certainly win victories in the future, too, in their struggle as a pioneer in the new era of independence.

I pledge myself here to strengthen militant solidarity between the peoples of Japan and Korea.

US IMPERIALISM, THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO REUNIFICATION

It is a well-known historical fact that Kim Ung U sunk the US pirate ship "General Sherman" in 1866.

So far as their aggressive design and nature are concerned, the US imperialists of today are nothing different from those in the days of the pirate ship.

It is true that after it colonized the Korean peninsula by virtue of the forced "Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty" of 1910, Japanese imperialism started its aggression on the Chinese mainland according to its expansion policy. But it is also true that it was at the same time the Asian scout of both American and British imperialisms. Therefore, although the defeated Japanese imperialism withdrew from the scene to be replaced by the new aggressors, the US imperialists, the nature of colonial rule can hardly be changed.

On August 15, 1945, Japanese imperialism was brought to complete surrender, and the Korean people were liberated from its colonial rule. As a natural consequence, the Korean people were to establish their own government according to their independent choice.

In December 1945 the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers' Conference of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union adopted a decision on the establishment of a democratic provisional government with a view to developing Korea as a unified, democratic sovereign and independent state.

However, US imperialism not only boycotted the fulfilment of the decision of the Three Ministers' Conference but also ignored the simultaneous withdrawal of the US and Soviet armies from the Korean peninsula.

Then, in May 1948 it unilaterally rigged up the Syngman Rhee puppet government in south Korea at the point of bayonet of the US troops remaining there illegally.

It forced the United Nations to call this puppet government a "lawful government that exercises effective control and right of administration."

As is generally known, the United Nations was then under the thumb of and in bondage to the United States which was scattering dollars about everywhere in the world.

This was an open revelation of the true colours of US imperialism and an outrageous act trampling down the will of the Korean people.

The will of the Korean people, as was clearly proved by the election held in August 1948, was in favour of the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The record shows that 99.97 per cent of the electorate took part in the election in north Korea and 77.52 per cent in south Korea.

The percentage for south Korea was obtained under a most repressive system. In view of the fact, the figure may be said a phenomenal one.

Proceeding from its blockade policy against the Soviet

Union, the United States openly perpetrated a cold war in those days. It was making a frantic effort to form an anti-communist military alliance by setting up the NATO in Europe, the SEATO in Southeast Asia, the CENTO in the Middle East and the NEATO in the Northeast Asia.

In particular, it made a great point of defining the position of the Korean peninsula in the NEATO, for it apparently foresaw the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and considered that in order to maintain the blockade against China and the Soviet Union it was necessary to rearm Japan and turn the whole of Korea into a military base.

In 1948, MacArthur (the then commander-in-chief of the US forces in the Far East) declared that "Japan is an invincible anti-communist bulwark."

In 1950, Wedemeyer (head of the inspection team for military bases in south Korea) said: "Unification and independence of Korea will be a grave threat to the general interests of the United States and, therefore, it should never be allowed to happen. The extent of military occupation should be expanded throughout Korea."

In 1952, Nixon (the then Vice-President) remarked: "It was a United States' mistake to have demilitarized Japan"

In 1961, Lemnitzer (the then Chairman of US Joint Chiefs of Staff) said: "If the Republic of Korea falls into the communist sphere, Japan will find herself between fires from the Kurile Islands, Sakhalin and Korea, and Japan's strategic position will become very weakened."

It may be on the basis of this fundamental definition of the position of the Korean peninsula that US imperialism keeps on its war provocation manoeuvres with most thoroughgoing preparations and under a very elaborate plan and is seeking an eternal colonial rule.

Giving testimony as to this fact, MacArthur, the defeated general in the Korean war, said: "This war was of my scheme."

Great President Kim Il Sung correctly analysed the international situation after the Second World War, exposed

the aggressive nature of US imperialism and gave warning against it.

The Short Biography of Comrade Kim Il Sung says:

"The US imperialists, in particular, made frantic preparations for a new war, pursuing an outrageous policy of aggression in an attempt to materialize their wild dream of world domination, under the deceptive slogans of 'freedom' and 'democracy'. After the war, US imperialism emerged as the chieftain of world reaction, the main force of aggression and war, international gendarme, the bulwark of neo-colonialism and the most heinous enemy of the peoples of the world....

"From the moment they landed in south Korea, the US imperialist aggressors, stepping into the shoes of the Japanese imperialists, behaved like colonial rulers. They forcibly dissolved the people's committees which had been set up in many places, enforced ferocious military rule and started repressing all the patriotic people who were making revolutionary advances.

"The US imperialists took possession of all property formerly held by the Japanese imperialists and seized whatever they wanted. Moreover, they began to construct military bases in many parts of south Korea.

"They whipped together reactionaries at home and abroad to use as pillars of their neo-colonialist rule."

US imperialism is using various paradoxical pretexts to justify the stationing of the US troops.

However, it is a generally recognized fact that none other than the US imperialists are creating military tension and also continuing to perpetrate war provocation manoeuvres. They are quibbling over the "defence of south Korea from the threat of southward invasion" or "maintenance of the balance of forces", but no one believes it.

Of late, in particular, while making the "two Koreas" policy their basic objective, the United States and its south Korean puppet clique are speaking about what they call "north-south nonaggression agreement" and "noninterference in each other's internal affairs", as if they desired reunification and peace.

Their assertion is apparently the reflection of their way of thinking that is basically in favour of drawing a border line between the north and the south. It is a vicious scheme to put the "two Koreas" plot into effect.

Since very early ages the Korean nation has been a homogeneous nation. It is a superior nation with the same language and culture, a nation boasting of a history of 5,000 years. The north-south division is a purely artificial one forced unilaterally by the US imperialists, and as such, it is utterly illegal and unreasonable. And it can never become an inter-state problem.

If the foreign troops are withdrawn and outrageous obstructionist machinations stopped, the question of reunification of north and south Korea can be resolved independently as a question concerning the Korean people themselves and their domestic affair.

Such being the case, the Republic made a proposal on the conclusion of a peace agreement between the DPRK and the United States.

This is a principled, realistic and reasonable proposal aimed at the removal of tension by the both parties to the truce.

As mentioned above, US imperialism is the main obstacle to the reunification of Korea. Immediate withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea is the prerequisite to the reunification of Korea and a key to the solution of problems.

This was commonly confirmed in the 1975 UN General Assembly resolution, in the resolution of the 1976 Summit Conference of the Non-aligned States and in the resolution of the 1977 World Congress Supporting the Reunification of Korea.

Today, the withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea is a demand of the public opinion of the world and a common demand of the peoples of all countries.

The situation is changing in our favour.

Let us further isolate US imperialism together and make a vigorous onward march proper for the new era of independence!

RESUMPTION OF JAPANESE MILITARISM'S INVASION ON SOUTH KOREA

After World War II the US imperialists rapidly dismantled the ruling structure of Japanese imperialism through the disarmament of its armed forces, dissolution of big businesses, establishment of the Peace Constitution, and so on.

No small number of the Japanese who had seen such an activity of the occupation army harboured an illusion about the United States.

However, as soon as the United States set about preparations for a war in Korea, its nature as imperialist aggressor became fully revealed.

US imperialism suppressed the trade unions that came out against the Korean war, deported "Red" leaders, and invented various stratagems, thus rushing along the road of setting up a war structure.

We consider that such cases as Shimoyama, Mitaka, Matsukawa and Shiratori are the products of the plots concocted by the USCIA.

While suppressing the workers in this way, they placed orders with the former big businesses for "special procurements" and allowed the revival of monopoly capital in exchange for the latter's cooperation in the war.

Indeed, Japanese monopoly capital could revive, feeding on the blood of the Korean people.

In this process, war criminals of the Second World War appeared on the political scene in succession and openly stepped up the rearmament of Japan. Thus, Japan grew to be a dangerous existence in Asia.

This showed that the intention of US imperialism which

revived the reactionary ruling circles of Japan was just to place them in the forefront of operations.

With this situation as the background, the conclusion of the Japan-“ROK” treaty was expedited.

The essence of this treaty is nothing more than Japan's pledge of cooperation with US imperialism and of its dependable partner. Looking back on the happy days of their colonial domination, the revived reactionary ruling circles of Japan are dreaming this time of joint Japan-US colonial rule in the form of cooperation with the United States.

Their reactionary nature was revealed in the process of the Japan-“ROK” talks, in the speeches of their leaders made in those days, and in many other aspects.

In 1960 we besieged the Diet Building of Japan and staged round-the-clock demonstrations for consecutive days.

It was a resistance of the Japanese people against the scheme for the essential conversion of the new Japan-US Security Pact into a new security system involving industry and the military affairs which was aimed not only at cooperation in respect of military bases, operational cooperation and other military affairs but also at economic cooperation. But, later, having found their way out with automatic approval, the reactionary ruling circles of Japan set about the preparations for the resumption of the Japan-“ROK” talks.

US imperialism which had suffered defeat in the war of aggression on Korea unleashed in 1950 regarded south Korea as its strategic stronghold in Northeast Asia and incorporated the whole of Japan into the strategic arrangement for a new war in the Korean peninsula.

In this sense, the new Japan-US Security Pact was a pact for the domination of Asia by the Japanese and American reactionaries. It was also a prelude to the start of Japanese monopoly capital's reinvasion on south Korea.

At his talks with Kennedy in 1961, Ikeda said: “To Japan, the question of Korea is, in a certain sense, more important than

that of China. Geographically and historically, she is most nearly related to Japan and is in a position to affect Japan's fate. In particular, in case Pusan is communized, it will have a great effect on Japan's security.

"Japan should pay deep attention to the anti-communist structure of south Korea. Even under present conditions, it is necessary for Japan to render active help to the Republic of Korea. For this purpose, too, it is desirable to reopen Japan-ROK negotiations."

After that, in south Korea Syngman Rhee was overthrown and a struggle for democratization surged high with the students as the main force.

Military coup was staged in May 1961, which culminated in the emergence of the Pak Jung Hi military "regime". Though, Ikeda insisted on the active help in spite of such an insecure situation in the "Republic of Korea".

The "Japan-US Joint Trade and Economic Commission" meeting held in November 1961 was, in fact, turned into a triple talks between Japan, America and the "Republic of Korea", where was discussed the question of aid to south Korea.

At these talks, Rusk (the then Secretary of State) demanded: "The question of the Republic of Korea is the main task of the Asian policy of the United States. Now that South Vietnam is in great danger, if we meet with a setback in Korea, it will affect the prestige of the United States. I want Japan to normalize her diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea at an early date and give her cooperation in the political and economic stabilization of the Republic of Korea."

At this, Ikeda (the then Prime Minister) said with a little uncertain attitude: "Japan is also going to help the Republic of Korea to stand up on its feet as early as possible. But, it is difficult to place the Japan-ROK agreement under Diet deliberations. There is a danger of causing a commotion against the Japan-US Security Pact again. As for me, I am working hard to see that such a thing will not occur. Our zeal for the stabilization of the Republic of Korea is little different from that of

the United States.”

Unsatisfied with the ambiguous answer of Ikeda, Kennedy summoned Yoshida Shigeru, Ikeda's boss, and applied pressure to him. This made Yoshida show his positiveness. He uttered: “The United States expressed its dissatisfaction at Japan's attitude towards the Republic of Korea. When communized, the Republic of Korea will bring a great difficulty to the defence of Japan. The question of the Republic of Korea, therefore, is the question of Japan herself.”

Thus, abetted by US imperialism, the Japan-“ROK” negotiations progressed rapidly. It is intolerable that breaking international faith, the United States is entrenched in south Korea illegally and unjustifiably to maintain its colonial rule. Japan, too, cannot escape such a blame. Because, in spite of her recognition of “Korea's independence”, Japan intentionally and unilaterally concluded that the south Korean puppet government was a government representing all Korea and continued negotiations with it, while maintaining the attitude of hostility towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Japan recognizes the “independence of Korea” written expressly in the “surrender documents” of World War II, in “Article 2 of the San Francisco Treaty”, in the “Cairo Declaration”, and in the “Potsdam Declaration”. This of course applies to one Korea. Even in the light of international law, the Japanese government's attitude of assisting the government in one part of a divided country and opposing the other part cannot but be defined as treachery to the world.

The reason why the Japanese reactionary ruling circles dare commit such treachery may be explained by the fact that they intend to escape the responsibility for World War II and refuse to reflect on the crimes they committed as the war bosses.

That is why they regarded the Korean and Vietnamese wars as gainful opportunities, assumed a positive attitude towards cooperation in them and helped US imperialism in murdering the peoples of the two countries.

The Japanese representative to the Japan-“ROK” negotia-

tions spoke very frankly of their feelings about their lack of self-examination, and this gave rise to public discussions many times. In 1953, Kubota said as follows:

"The Republic of Korea side has no right to claim against Japan for reparation. If it speaks about the damage done for 36 years, the Japanese side, too, is obliged to point out the fact that Japan cultivated its economic strength.

"Japanese domination of Korea benefited the Korean people. Without it Korea would be done by either China or Russia."

In 1958, Sawada said as follows:

"Both the Japanese-Chinese and Japanese-Russian wars were wars to push back the forces threatening Japan beyond the Amnok-gang River, because they had advanced into the Korean peninsula. If we fail to rise up for the third time to move back the 38th parallel across the Amnok-gang River, we have no excuse to offer to our forefathers. It is the task of Japanese diplomacy."

These brazen-faced utterances were made one after another by the Japanese side at the Japan-"ROK" talks. This notwithstanding, in September 1962 Pak Jung Hi jabbered: "If we take a wide view of the Japan-ROK talks as they contribute to uniting the free world and strengthening the Asian anti-communist front in this tense international situation, their successful conclusion is the duty of the statesmen of the two countries. Now is the time for the authorities of the two countries to push forward and conclude the talks, prepared to receive some criticism from the peoples."

His utterance, which was made three days after the talks between Berger (the then US ambassador to south Korea) and Pak Jung Hi in Seoul, suggested, on the one side, that he was emboldened to say so with the backing of US imperialism, and indicated, in substance, that it was a reflection of the intention of the United States which wished Japan to take its place. It was also viewed as Pak Jung Hi's cry of distress to the effect that without Japan's cooperation, his military system could not be maintained.

Thus the Japanese economic circles set about their aggression on south Korea, taking the form of inspection. At his press interview, Uemura of the "Japan Federation of Economic Organizations" said: "I felt assured after my inspection of the economy of the Republic of Korea. There was abundant able-bodied labour power wanting jobs in utter destitution. Labour is cheap and skill is comparatively high, so capital investment will prove a paying business."

This is an utterance of a wolf seeking for prey. It was from this standpoint that Japan's monopoly capital carried on its investment.

In 1965 the Japanese government promised to render economic cooperation to the "ROK"—to give 300 million dollars as a handout, 200 million dollars as a government credit and 300 million dollars as a commercial credit.

In a report of what happened at that time, a newspaper wrote: "Nocturnal Seoul was also a 'place' where the Japanese traders steeped themselves in secret manoeuvres to build up connections with the leading figures (of the Pak Jung Hi puppet government) so as not to miss the bus of 800 million dollars."

Since then, men of economic and political circles of Japan intensified their secret manoeuvres to employ the workers whose wages are no more than one-third of those paid to Japanese workers and obtain concessions from the quarter close to Pak Jung Hi.

The Japan-"ROK" union covers all fields including key industries such as oil, aluminium, automobile and metro and even tourist industry.

It is well known that during this period, Kishi, Fukuda, Tanaka, Nakasone and other politicians representing the conservatives of Japan formed the pro-"ROK" group and played the role of middleman for concessions.

The situation further developed with Pak Jung Hi's so-called October revitalization as a momentum and Japanese monopoly capital reportedly consolidated the foundations of "Japanese corporations in the 'ROK'".

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the economy of the "ROK" is being brought into the economic sphere of Japan through the comprehensive relations and syndicates.

For instance, the representative big business of Japan and the large enterprises of south Korea have been all grouped in syndicates as seen in case of Mitsui and Samsung, Mitsubishi and Ssangryong, Itochu and Songyong, Kokusai Kogyo and Hanjin and Sumitomo and Samsung NEC. Large enterprises of south Korea are in a position to find no way out without depending upon the Japanese economy.

Such is how civilian capital was invested in south Korea. The state finance, too, counts heavily on the credit. Taking such situation of the "ROK" into account, it will be proper to say that Japanese militarism has started making inroads again on south Korea.

Kim Hyong Uk, ex-Director of the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency, disclosed in his testimony in the USA that "the Kim Dae Jung incident is a crime committed by the KCIA and the Japanese government knew it."

It is said that the Japan-"ROK" union is incomparable, in its makeup, with the Lockheed scandal still fresh in the memory of the Japanese. In view of this, I believe that the monopoly capital and reactionary ruling circles of Japan which are patrons of Pak Jung Hi should bear a great part of the responsibility not only for the Kim Dae Jung incident but also for the cases of Pak Jung Hi's fascist suppression.

US imperialism is the main obstacle to Korea's reunification, whereas Japanese militarism is an actual deterrent to it.

The "two Koreas" policy the reactionary ruling circles of Japan are deeply involved in should never be tolerated. The independent, peaceful reunification of north and south Korea should be attained at any cost, no matter whatever difficulty and hardship may crop up. Japanese monopoly capital continues with exploitation without letup in south Korea and other parts of Asia to reap profits. In Japan the same monopoly capital

has fired the workers, with the result that the number of the unemployed now runs into three millions.

The reactionary ruling circles of the US and Japan which push ahead with the "two Koreas" policy are the common enemy of the peoples of Japan and Korea, the enemy who hinders Korea's peaceful and independent reunification and deprives the workers of their vital rights.

I have come to deeply realize again that the struggle in Japan is important.

PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG'S CONSISTENT POLICY FOR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION

With regard to national reunification, esteemed President Kim Il Sung said:

"We hold that the question of national reunification should be solved independently by the Korean people themselves in a peaceful way on democratic principles, free from any interference of outside forces."

He declared more than once that the stand for national reunification still remains unchanged in the main.

Korea's reunification is a question whose solution comes within the Korean people's right to self-determination; it is their fundamental right no one is allowed to violate or interfere with.

At present the US imperialists keep the Korean peninsula artificially split, thereby causing misfortunes. This is an intolerable outrageous act either in view of the international faith or from the humanitarian point of view.

The Korean nation has 5,000-year-long brilliant history and culture, with a common language as a homogeneous nation. What is most important is, I believe, that the country's reunification is the unanimous, ardent desire of all the Korean people.

The reunification of north and south Korea is a matter to be decided by the Korean nation. No one should stand in the way by pursuing the "two Koreas" policy. The US imperialists and the reactionary ruling circle of Japan are frantically following the "two Koreas" policy, because they want to continue with invasion of south Korea and maintain colonial rule over it.

It is the Korean people themselves who are to shape their destiny.

And the Korean people themselves are capable of hewing out their own destiny.

The Korean people are the masters of the Korean peninsula. Korea's reunification should be realized if they want it.

There is no doubt that the Korean people's will is ignored and their right is trampled down unjustly due to the split of Korea into the north and the south.

The US imperialists are hindering reunification at the point of bayonet.

No one considers it all right.

Ever since liberation the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward the concrete proposals for reunification on more than 150 occasions. Nevertheless, all of them have been disregarded by the Japanese and US reactionaries and the south Korean puppet government.

Let me brief what has happened.

The Joint Conference of Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations of North and South Korea held in Pyongyang in 1948 proposed to establish a unified government through all-Korea general elections to be held after the withdrawal of foreign troops.

The US imperialists and the Syngman Rhee clique not only turned down this proposal but also started an aggressive war in June 1950 in an attempt to impose colonialism.

In 1960 the epochal proposal to institute a north-south Confederation was made as a transitional step, in view of the actual conditions of north and south Korea which have different social systems.

In 1971 a proposal was advanced for extensive north-south negotiations to enable all political parties, social organizations and individuals in north and south Korea to hold dialogues no matter when and where.

In the August of the same year the north-south Red-Cross talks were held.

On July 4, 1972 the historic North-South Joint Statement was published whose keynote is the three principles of national reunification—independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity—laid down by President Kim Il Sung.

The news of announcement of this statement moved all the Korean people to tears and was supported by different countries. A great expectation was expressed that the split of Korea into the north and the south would be brought to an end.

Finding their scheme for “unifying by prevailing over communism” supportless, the US imperialists made public the “two Koreas” policy. By doing this, they went against the North-South Joint Statement.

In opposition to the North-South Joint Statement the US imperialists “announced that the US troops will continue to stay” in south Korea.

In response to this Pak Jung Hi prattled that the US troops are not foreign troops but the UN forces. This made him a laughingstock.

Now, let me examine the July 4 North-South Joint Statement of important historical significance.

The July 4 North-South Joint Statement pointed out:

First, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;

Secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;

Thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system.

As they were unable to oppose the logical reasoning of

the joint statement and national sentiments, the Pak Jung Hi puppet clique expressed approval for it outwardly.

But while deceiving the masses with the slogans "confrontation attended by dialogue" and "competition attended by dialogue", they conducted war exercises one after another, created military tension, and committed the outrage of stamping out all the democratic rights in south Korea.

In June 1973 Pak Jung Hi published the so-called "special statement on the foreign policy for peaceful unification."

In this statement he advanced a policy of simultaneous UN membership for north and south Korea, and tried to impose the "two Koreas" policy. It was a criminal act.

Pak Jung Hi referred to the simultaneous entry of East and West Germany in the UN, in an effort to justify his "two Koreas" policy. But it should be pointed out that the Korean problem differs from the German problem.

First of all, Germany was bisected into the east and the west in a sense that it should be called to account for the war ignited by Nazi Germany. If any attempt is made to reunify East and West Germany now, the European countries which had been invaded in the past, will watch out its development without supporting it meekly.

What is most important is that the decision on the simultaneous UN membership was made as a reflex of the will of the people in East and West Germany.

Let us see the case of Korea which is contrary to this. Korea is a country liberated from Japanese imperialist colonial rule. It was forcibly divided into the north and the south as it is now by the US imperialists. It is illegal in every respect. Korea is not called to account for the war. Its reunification will never present any threat to its neighbouring countries, China and the Soviet Union, on any account.

Another important thing in contrast to Germany is that all the people in north and south Korea have a craving for the country's reunification.

Making a comparison between the two, like this, I believe

that the pursuance of "two Koreas" policy is an intolerable criminal act.

In June 1973 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea published the "five-point policy for national reunification", which was a further development of the North-South Joint Statement. The contents of this policy are:

First, to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south;

Secondly, to materialize many-sided cooperation and exchange between the north and the south;

Thirdly, to convene a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people in all walks of life, political parties and social organizations in the north and the south;

Fourthly, to institute a north-south Confederation under the single name of Confederal Republic of Koryo;

Fifthly, to enter the United Nations under the single name of Confederal Republic of Koryo.

In 1974 the Republic proposed to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. This proposal for the conclusion of a Korea-US peace agreement between the signatories to the Armistice Agreement is reasonable.

The peace agreement proposal is designed first of all to eliminate military tension to discuss the problem concerning the realization of reunification under the condition where there are increasing manoeuvres for the aggravation of military tension since the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement.

The Pak Jung Hi clique answered this with a "nonaggression treaty". This means that both sides should promise not to invade each other with the Military Demarcation Line as the border. This is, after all, nothing but a "two Koreas" policy.

Moreover, the US imperialists answered this with the threat of "We'll use nuclear weapons in Korea" and with the "Panmunjom incident".

As seen above, the US imperialists and their lackeys are

trying to freeze "two Koreas" even by force against the Republic's consistent proposals for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

In 1972 the Pak Jung Hi clique issued an "emergency martial law" on the pretext of a crisis which was actually non-existent and effected another fascist coup, the so-called "October revitalization".

From then on, the notorious "presidential emergency decrees" have been issued one after another and a large number of patriots, democratic personages and nationalists have been imprisoned and killed.

We are demanding the release of all the political offenders who are now in prison due to the atrocities of the south Korean Central Intelligence Agency, including Mr. Kim Dae Jung who was illegally kidnapped in Japan in broad daylight and patriotic poet Kim Ji Ha.

The people of south Korea who love the country and nation are waging an indomitable struggle at the crossroads of "patriotism and country-selling".

In the year of 1977 which was ushered in amidst struggle, another save-the-nation proposal was made.

This proposal, as you all know well, was put forward at the joint conference of political parties and social organizations for the reunification of Korea held in Pyongyang, and it is a most opportune proposal. Its contents are:

First, to realize the great alliance of the socialist forces in the north and the patriotic democratic forces in the south that aspire after reunification;

Secondly, to ease the tension between the north and the south and eliminate the danger of a nuclear war;

Thirdly, to remove the sources of discord within the nation and create an atmosphere conducive to great national unity;

Fourthly, to convene a north-south political consultative meeting composed of representatives of all political parties, social organizations and people in all walks of life in the north and the south.

The sincere attitude of the Republic which has made so many proposals for national reunification and has exerted concrete efforts for their realization, inspires and encourages the peoples of various countries of the world, to say nothing of the south Korean people, and enjoys their increasing support.

The UN resolution on the Korean question, too, is proof that the "two Koreas" policy of the Japanese and US reactionaries is being repudiated. They, too, must naturally know that today belongs to a new era. The peoples of different countries of the world have long suffered from aggression, exploitation, oppression, discrimination and division by imperialism and colonialism.

Today, however, the peoples of various countries in the world have broken off the relations of bondage which existed for a long time, have become awakened politically, and set out on the road of political independence and economic self-reliance.

The world is now in the era of independence. The strong tide of Juche has already begun to flow all over the world, which no one can arrest.

The US imperialists cannot save themselves from isolation however hard they may try to put the "two Koreas" policy into effect.

Optimism, however, is impermissible.

It is true that US imperialism is getting corrupted.

Internally, it is confronted with many difficult problems such as unemployment, dollar crisis, racial discrimination, and rotten culture, and internationally its policies of imperialist aggression and colonialism are being continually repudiated.

Nevertheless, it is also true that US imperialism has an army boasting as ever of being the strongest in the world and remains as the chieftain of the capitalist camp.

The "two Koreas" policy which is being pursued by US imperialism as its prime mover finds expressions in various forms.

Here the problem of cross-recognition can be cited first

for an instance. This is a plot intended to let the four countries—the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and China—recognize north and south Korea respectively, disregarding the will of the Korean people; this cannot but be viewed as the aggressors' opportunism.

Besides, what is called four-nation talks between the United States, the "ROK", the DPRK and China is being plotted. In view of the fact that the signatory parties to the present Armistice Agreement are Korea and the United States, the south Korean puppet government is a puppet in every point and has no capacity of the party concerned. Arguing about the four-nation talks in spite of that is aimed at letting the "ROK" participate in an international conference by all means and making it a fait accompli in the course of the discussion of the Korean question, so as to make the puppet regime a concerned party.

Anyway, the "two Koreas" policy is based on the premise of delimiting the border line between the north and the south. They are trying to draw the border line openly on the map sometimes or craftily in minds at other times.

If that border became a reality, the mere utterance about Korea's reunification would be considered as an intervention in another's internal affairs, and to be more exact, as a provocation of war.

They say that the "two Koreas" policy will be conducive to peace in Korea and the stage-by-stage reunification of the north and the south. It can never be so. It is sheer nonsense and fraud.

President Kim Il Sung is concerned day and night about the question of national reunification, the long-cherished desire of the entire Korean people, and has made consistent proposals for reunification reflecting their will. I pay my hearty respect to him for this and, at the same time, I cannot help admiring his greatness.

I have so far addressed you to condemn the "two Koreas" policy from various angles.

Referring to this task, great President Kim Il Sung said in easy-to-understand and simple terms:

“The reunification of north and south, the long-cherished desire of the whole nation, has not yet been accomplished simply because the US imperialists are occupying south Korea, interfering in the internal affairs of our country and pursuing the policy of dividing the nation.”

And further:

“The occupation of south Korea by US imperialism and its policy of aggression are the source of all the misfortunes of our nation and the main obstacle to the reunification of our country.”

As pointed out in this teaching, the US imperialists are the biggest and main deterrent to the reunification of Korea. At the same time, Japanese militarism following US imperialism is a real obstacle to Korea's reunification.

Japan and Korea geographically neighbour with each other, but they have become the most distantly related countries on the globe. The reason is that the reactionary ruling circles of Japan do not give up their wild designs against Korea, still regarding her as their dependent country without reflecting on their former colonial rule over Korea.

In the 36 long years the Korean people were deprived of all things—the country, land and language—by the Japanese imperialists, subjected to forced labour and all sorts of national oppression and mistreated like beasts of burden. This they will never forget.

Thus, over the past 32 years, the Korean people have been suffering from the agony of territorial division into north and south caused by US imperialism.

The US imperialists who, staying on the Korean peninsula against the will of the Korean people, are preventing the Korean people from holding dialogue for reunification between themselves and the Japanese reactionary ruling circles are mouthing platitudes of “the threat of communization”, “the

threat of southward invasion" and "protection of south Korea".

However, the reunification of Korea is the internal affair of the Korean nation and an issue having nothing to do with other countries. The protracted artificial split of the Korean people is the cause of disputes and tension.

It can never become a threat to the United States and Japan that the Korean people achieve reunification as they wish.

On the contrary, the presence of US imperialism and Japanese militarism poses a threat to the Korean people.

The Korean people appeal: "We hope that Japan should not do a thing which is obstructive to Korea's reunification."

We Japanese people must willingly accept this appeal of the Korean friends.

Under the present conditions where the Japanese government is deeply involved in the question of Korea's reunification and manoeuvring on the side of those who work to obstruct it, the struggle for strengthening the solidarity between the Japanese and the Korean people acquires tremendous importance.

Fortunate enough, in Japan there are a great number of Korean nationals fighting devotedly for the reunification of Korea.

We Japanese people will fight to the end, closely hand in hand with the Korean citizens in Japan, to answer without fail the expectations of the Korean people.

I express my determination to organize a tenacious struggle to nullify the Japan-"ROK" treaty which has served as the lever of the reactionary ruling circles of Japan in their invasion of Korea and to crush the "two Koreas" policy.

Congratulating great President Kim Il Sung on his 65th birthday, I sincerely wish him a very long life and good health.

Long live militant solidarity between the peoples of Japan and Korea!

“KOREAN NATION IS ONE”



STEINAR STJERNO

Member of the Executive Committee of the
Central Committee of the Socialist Left Party
of Norway

Our people have been exploited for 400 years by larger and more powerful neighbouring countries than ours. During World War II our country was occupied by fascist Germany which was allied with Japanese forces.

When the Korean people valiantly fought against the Japanese imperialists, we, too, fought against the Germans.

This shows that the Korean and Norwegian peoples in the past were on the same road to the independence of their countries.

One part of Korea has been under the suppression by the fascist forces for over 30 years and still now under the occupation of foreign troops.

The Pak Jung Hi dictatorship is harshly suppressing the working class, infringing on the democratic rights of the people and imprisoning personages of non-government parties.

The Pak dictatorship defends capitalists' exploitation of the working people in collusion with Japanese and US monopoly capital and leave the wealth that should belong to the

working people at the mercy of imperialists' plunder.

The war forces of US imperialism protect the Pak Jung Hi dictatorship and try to perpetuate Korea's division.

In south Korea as in various other countries, the imperialists are seeking their economic interests by force of arms. They are also interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and have split the homogeneous Korean nation.

US imperialism is resorting to the "two Koreas" machination.

This is intended to continuously maintain its colonial-military domination over south Korea and to use south Korea as their base for the aggression on the DPRK and other Asian countries.

At the time of his election campaign US President Carter made a promise to withdraw the US troops from south Korea.

Today he fails to keep his words.

The United States says it will withdraw only its ground force, further reinforce its air force and leave its naval force and intelligence personnel intact, instead of withdrawing all its troops from south Korea.

By so doing, the US administration bolsters up the puppet Pak Jung Hi clique.

It is clear from this that the US imperialists' troops withdrawal commitment is a sheer lie.

With such fallacy they are trying to conceal their scheme to keep Korea's division and maintain their rule over south Korea.

All nations should decide on their development for themselves.

We must fight against imperialism and strengthen solidarity with the working people of all countries and support each other in the struggle for socialism, democracy and national unity.

That is why we support the Korean people's claim for shaping their future for themselves.

Korea is one, and so is the Korean nation. Korea's pro-

longed division by the US imperialist armed occupation of south Korea constitutes a constant threat of war. And war in Korea will be a direct menace to the world peace. Hence all the people desirous of peace should actively fight for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The US troops must get out of south Korea, taking all their military equipment with them.

Political offenders must be released at once in south Korea and democratic rights ensured to the people there.

Korea's reunification can be achieved only in accordance with five-point programme of national reunification and the three principles—*independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity*—which were put forward by President Kim Il Sung.

This principle proceeded from the Korean people's desire to solve the national problem, transcending the difference of social structure and system between the north and the south.

This is a reasonable measure for the solution of the Korean question. It is the only way for the complete independence of Korea and her independent peaceful reunification.

That is why the above programme and principles for national reunification are enjoying the support of not only the Korean people but the socialists of our country and all the progressive people.

Reunification attained on these principles will constitute a blow to US imperialism.

Korea's reunification is in the interests of the people of all countries as well as the Korean people. Therefore, the revolutionary forces of all countries should be united themselves to smash the US imperialists' "two Koreas" scheme. This scheme is not for the reunification of Korea but designed to hinder it.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA AND REUNIFICATION QUESTION



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This is an excerpt from a lecture delivered on July 1, 1976 at the auditorium of the post-graduate course of Meiji University in Tokyo. It was carried in Korean Problem: Study and Research Series No. 4 printed in the name of the "Conversazione on the Problem of Korea."

1. FOREWORD

Today the Korean problem is most important to Asia, particularly to us the Japanese people. But it is very hard to mention it or take any action for it.

Important as the Korean question is, not many intellectuals intend to give utterance to their views on it from their own

standpoint, much less to put them into action, whatever their standpoints may be. The first reason, I think, is that in the past the Japanese were disinclined to give sincere, sober thought to the Korean question and, accordingly, they have too poor accumulation of such thought. Secondly, I think the variously intricate and complex nature the patriotic movement of Korea assumed in the course of undergoing numerous ordeals is reflected in the present situation of Korea to make it difficult to have a correct understanding of the Korean question.

Last but not least is the fact that as we the Japanese often say about our original sin when speaking of the Korean question, this question is always closely linked up with our task to set right the course of our history by our own efforts. Therefore, whatever view may be expressed on the Korean question in any form on our part, this question is related to us as a very important question of our own.

Anyone except those persuaded of or satisfied with the present situation of Korea will certainly find it difficult to speak about the Korean question.

As is introduced, I'm an editor, not an expert on the Korean question. I'm neither qualified to touch on it here, nor have I any knowledge of it. But, the Korean question has been a matter of my concern since I began to work as a member of the editorial staff of the magazine *Sekai* 18 or 19 years ago, and in this course I have had my own experience with it. Here I'm going to tell what I have felt through my work and experience. I have taken this platform at the earnest request of the sponsors of this conversazione and in my hope that my lecture would be helpful to you even a little, for, as I have just mentioned, I know through many years of my own work that it is difficult to explain or discuss the Korean question. So, I first seek your understanding that I speak of it from my own experience in the capacity of a layman in every sense.

2. JULY 4 JOINT STATEMENT

— Emotion and Doubt —

First of all, I should like to touch on the "July 4 Joint Statement."

1) As you know, the "July 4 Joint Statement" was announced simultaneously in both north and south Korea 4 years ago, on July 4, 1972. According to this joint statement, "Li Hu Rak, Director of the KCIA in Seoul visited Pyongyang from May 2 to 5, 1972 and had talks with Kim Yong Ju, Director of the Organizational Guidance Department in Pyongyang," and "Second Vice-Premier Pak Sung Chul, on behalf of Director Kim Yong Ju visited Seoul from May 29 to June 1, 1972 and had talks with Director Li Hu Rak." The joint statement is said to have been worked out after these talks. Though it was issued in the name of Kim Yong Ju and Li Hu Rak, it has a phrase "Upholding the will of each other's superiors."

The following three principles were agreed upon in the joint statement which went through such formalities: Firstly, "reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference"; secondly, "reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side"; thirdly, "great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system." In short, they are the principles of achieving great national unity by an independent, peaceful means.

Also written in the joint statement are such matters as refraining from slandering and calumniating the other side, pushing ahead with the north-south Red Cross talks, and installing the direct telephones between Pyongyang and Seoul. The

keynote of the July 4 Joint Statement is the aforesaid three principles—"independence, peaceful means and great national unity."

The July 4 Joint Statement had a great impact upon people since all the movement toward it had been kept in the dark until its announcement. Its content was both shocking and inspiring for the Korean people in the north and south. As a Japanese concerned over the Korean question, I too fully shared their feelings.

On July 23 that year the Ota branches of the ROK Residents Association in Japan (Mindan) and the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (Chongryon) held a joint meeting in welcome of the July 4 Joint Statement at the Ota Ward Hall in Tokyo. I went there for news coverage. It rained hard that day, but more than 2,000 Koreans in Japan gathered there. The hall resounded with applause and cheers. It was a meeting of tearful emotions. At that time I recalled a meeting held at the Kyoritsu Hall in Tokyo twelve years ago, on August 15, 1960. That year the Syngman Rhee regime was toppled by the April 19 Student Revolution, and this effected a change in the Mindan. For the first time, Koreans following the line of either the north or the south met together, and had a joint art performance, transcending their political stands. The curtain rose, but the spectators hugged and shook hands with each other here and there. To my regret, words fail to express that scene. It was indeed an emotional meeting which no one could see with dry eyes. I was moved to see them, but felt it was no place for me. So, I hurriedly came out of the hall.

The meeting in the Ota Ward Hall was followed by various felicitations similar to it. In early August the Mindan people (though not all) and the Chongryon people held a joint central meeting in the Tokyo Gymnasium. Their ardent desire for the reunification of the Korean nation and their hope for amenity were tangibly manifested in their folk dances and national costume that adorned the inside and outside of the moving meeting place. Amicability reigned over the meeting place.

Korea was divided into the north and south with the 38th parallel in-between, and the two parts had been kept in a state of sharp confrontation and instability even after 1950. In such situation Koreans had nearly abandoned the hope of national unification. But the July 4 Joint Statement infused a new hope into them and provided an important standard by which to measure the future of the Korean nation. This is important, I think. It also gave us Japanese a standard by which to measure the Korean question.

2) But, to be frank with you, when the joint statement was issued, I thought it went too far. While welcoming its announcement and the principles manifested in it, I felt it was very unnatural to make a joint statement in that form. Firstly, as it came out so suddenly, I doubted if the national slogans and determination described in the statement would not be gradually entangled in the dimensions of the strategic and tactical calculations of both the north and the south which were sharply antagonistic to each other. This was my vague doubt. If a Korean is here, he may criticize me. But I frankly confess I felt uneasy at that time.

Another apprehension or doubt I entertained was grounded on a more convincing reason. It came from the then situation of the Pak regime and from its political system. In other words, what the Pak regime had been doing by that time was quite contrary to what was intended by the July 4 Joint Statement. Let me take a few examples.

Firstly, I would like to recall events which took place between 1960 and 1961 and related to the problem to be mentioned afterwards. In 1961 there was the suppression of *Minjok Ilbo* by the Pak regime. The April 19, 1960 Students Revolution was crowned with victory and the outdated Syngman Rhee regime overthrown. What the students called for in soaring spirits after the victory of their revolution was north-south negotiation and interchange. It marked an epochal event in the post-liberation history of Korea. And a newspaper called *Minjok Ilbo* came into being representing this new trend of age. It was a

small newspaper dedicated mainly to national reunification. But, no sooner had Major General Pak Jung Hi come to power through a military coup on May 16, 1961, the next year, than *Minjok Ilbo* was closed down and its director Cho Yong Su and other cadres arrested. It happened on May 18, just two days after the military coup. At the end of August that year Cho Yong Su and two others were sentenced to death and five others to more than five years' imprisonments after the first trial on a charge of "supporting an anti-State organization".

At the second trial, the final one, at the end of October, no pleading for the defendants was allowed. The editor-in-chief of the newspaper who had been found innocent at the first trial was condemned to ten years' penal servitude and the sentences of director Cho and the others settled. In Japan a protest was voiced against the *Minjok Ilbo* case and a salvation campaign launched at that time. The wave of this campaign, I remember, spread far and wide including the United States. Journalists in various parts of the world demanded these convicts be spared. But the military regime killed director Cho on December 21 that year. I should call your attention to the fact that *Minjok Ilbo* was one of the first victims of the Pak military regime's suppression.

Secondly, the Pak regime has laid its foundation by stepping deep into the cold-war system of Asia. An evidence of this can be found in the two great events of its own choice—the conclusion of the Japan-“ROK” treaty in 1965 and the dispatch of the south Korean troops to Vietnam. I'm going to give a detailed account of this later on, but here I should like to stress that if the Pak regime had really wanted to follow the line of the July 4 Joint Statement, it should have carried out such a great reform as to demolish its foundation by itself.

Thirdly, I should point out the execution of Messrs. Kim Gyu Nam and Pak Ro Su. The latter was an excellent international jurist who had studied at the postgraduate course of Tokyo University under the guidance of Prof. Kono Yuichi and then conducted research work in Cambridge University. Ac-

cording to Prof. Kono, he returned to south Korea in 1969 in compliance with an invitation to serve on a considerably high post in the presidential secretariat. But he was arrested by the KCIA upon returning home. He was charged with "an act of communication with north Korea." In March 1970, a death sentence was passed on him at the first and second trials. It was decided in the Supreme Court in July that year. And Mr. Kim Gyu Nam, an intimate friend of Pak Ro Su, had long led a student life in Japan, obtained the doctor's degree of international relations affairs in the postgraduate course of Tokyo University, and then studied in Cambridge. In 1967 he was returned to the south Korean National Assembly.

He was an assemblyman when he was apprehended together with Mr. Pak Ro Su. He was also condemned to a capital punishment. A vigorous campaign to save Messrs. Pak Ro Su and Kim Gyu Nam was conducted by Prof. Kono and other international jurists, then president Kato Ichiro and other persons concerned of Tokyo University, British international jurists and MPs, and US and other international jurists. In order to save assemblyman Kim Gyu Nam many south Korean assemblymen undertook a signature campaign. These campaigns seemed to have worked a little. Their punishment was not executed for two years after judgement. But the two intellectuals were executed right after the announcement of the July 4 Joint Statement in disregard of the worldwide relief campaign.

Mr. Kim Gyu Nam was punished on July 13 and Mr. Pak Ro Su on July 28. Through Kono's account I had known the details of this case from the start. But when I heard the news of their execution my blood boiled. Prof. Kono told me later that he had felt so despondent that everything went amiss with him for quite a while. With an aching heart, he wrote minutely about the Pak Ro Su case and its background under the title "On Pak Ro Su" in the November issue of *Sekai* that year.

I said my blood had boiled. But, at the same time, I had thought it was "quite a matter of course." In view of the Pak regime's basic bearing toward the reunification question such

authoritarian suppression was quite natural and the July 4 Joint Statement was rather surprising.

The July 4 Joint Statement had excited us with an unimaginably great force as a great event which would lead to realizing the long-cherished desire of the Korean people. In a usual way of thinking, it is hardly understandable to have executed those two convicts after a two-year stay, charging one with having "travelled to the north" and the other with "having communicated with the north," when all were in such excitement. If they had been arrested as suspects, it would be another matter, but the Pak regime murdered them defying the world public opinion. This cannot be construed otherwise than having played false with the July 4 Joint Statement which calls for north-south reconciliation.

It may be excessive to say that the Pak regime complied with the joint statement in an attempt to mislead the north, the people and the international public opinion from the start. But it is obvious that while responding to the joint statement, the Pak regime had no political wherewithal commensurate with it, nor had it any readiness to create it. A gap was so big between the July 4 Joint Statement and the Pak regime that it inevitably caused vacillation and reaction in south Korea. As you know, the international background of the July 4 Joint Statement was US-Chinese reconciliation in 1971. There is no need to trouble myself to explain again that this reconciliation was effected in a new Asian situation in which the US strategy toward Vietnam fell flat, but this new Asian situation had a great impact on the Chinese neighbours which had been deeply involved in the cold-war system of the United States and gave a severe jolt to the regimes which had stood in the forefront of the US-Chinese showdown as US feelers. Typical ones are the Philippines and south Korea, we should say. The south Korean regime declared martial law on October 17, 1972, and the Philippines on September 23, one month before, in an attempt to restrain domestic disturbance by force. It seems that even the US, the springhead of that disturbance, worried about such si-

tuation of the two countries. For instance, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee dispatched its investigation group to both countries. Its written report presented on February 18, 1973, said that both countries were in serious disturbances and their governments were failing to take an active countermeasure.

I have just said that I warmly accepted the July 4 Joint Statement but, at the same time, felt a feeling of unrest. And many south Korean intellectuals and Opposition leaders too seemed to have had a feeling of uneasiness or distrust while greeting it in great excitement. Here I'm going to introduce the words of Mr. Kim Sun Il, an excellent south Korean intellectual, which were carried in *Sekai*. Answering my questions raised about two months after the case of kidnapping Kim Dae Jung, he said:

"...When the July 4 Joint Statement was made public, a good many south Korean intellectuals were distrustful of it. One of its reasons is that the Pak regime is one betraying our people. Moreover, Li Hu Rak, the direct partaker, is a symbol of irregularities and corruption. It was hardly believable that he had gone to the north and got his hand in the national task. We thought God knew what he would do...."

He went on to say:

"This time, however, the north declared that it didn't feel like talking with a man like Li Hu Rak and that it couldn't have a sincere talk with the Pak regime that had abducted Kim Dae Jung. I don't know the exact motive of this declaration. But if it is not a mere strategy and tactics but comes from its desire to have a sincere talk with those who truly worry about the future of the nation, it has a really great meaning, I think. It deserves a hearty welcome. If things go this way, the Pak regime will be isolated still further, I believe.

"Distrust reposed by the US and the Japanese public opinion in the Pak regime is an international one. If the north's distrust is added to it, it will prove that the Pak regime can no longer keep up with new developments prevailing in the Korean peninsula. And it will have no more excuse for various re-

pressive measures which it has taken under the slogan, 'For reunification.' Then, they will put up the last ditch struggle. Precaution should be taken against the sacrifice that might be imposed on the masses by the Pak regime. Establishment of repressive system came to end with the institution of the so-called 'October Revitalization' last year. Now how to do with the mounting uneasiness and resistance of the people? So far they have managed it by way of intensifying their political system. But, from now on, they may exercise rigid control over the people by declaring a state of emergency through the fabrication of cases of corruption or insurgency."

This prediction of his came true. We know well that they fabricated many cases including the "National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students" case in the spring of 1974 and the "People's Revolutionary Party" case in 1975, and cracked down harshly on the people.

Opposition leader Kim Dae Jung had held a similar view. He happened to stay in Japan in the autumn of 1972 soon after the publication of the July 4 Joint Statement. I had a few chances to meet him and discuss that problem. He gave full support to the contents of the statement, but rather sharply criticized the way of its announcement (especially in the south). Like Mr. Kim Sun Il, he said that it was very doubtful whether the Pak regime could faithfully carry out what the joint statement aspired to.

I shared his opinion and thought his doubt and criticism were natural. There was a fierce struggle between Mr. Kim Dae Jung and Pak Jung Hi in the presidential election in the spring of 1971, the year before the announcement of the joint statement. If the election had been conducted fairly and squarely, Mr. Kim Dae Jung would have been returned without fail, I'm sure. At that time he persistently advocated north-south reconciliation and interchange, concrete measures for peaceful reunification, promotion of diplomatic relations and foreign trade with communist countries, complete abolition of the anti-communist and such laws, and other epochal changes. I think if the

Pak regime had thought "national harmony was necessary for reunification" as it often stressed afterwards, in the south it should have had a close contact with the Opposition through dialogue, and particularly Pak Jung Hi should have sought sincere cooperation with Mr. Kim Dae Jung who put up a pioneering, prescient policy and enjoyed the support of half of the nation. But quite different was his posture.

Soon after the announcement of the July 4 Joint Statement Mr. Kim Dae Jung stated, "There is a danger of dictatorship being kept under the name of reunification." This warning of his proved true one year later when he suffered the personal calamity.

Needless to say, Mr. Kim was kidnapped on the afternoon of August 8, 1973, by the KCIA at the Grand Palace Hotel which stands at a distance of twenty minutes' walking from this meeting-hall.

As many of you know it, that very day we put on sale the September issue of magazine *Sekai* which carried an account of my interview with Mr. Kim Dae Jung under the title, "The Road to Democratization of South Korea." History often finds mysterious happenings, but I occasionally recall that great accidental coincidence with strained nerves. As a matter of fact, the place where I held an interview with him was a room of the Grand Palace Hotel I had booked in advance. Around mid-July he came in that room all alone. "I've never been here before. What a fine light room!" With this remark, he politely greeted female stenographers.

I recall to my mind the impressive scene of that day together with the scene of violence done to him three weeks later.

3. DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE JULY 4 NORTH-SOUTH JOINT STATEMENT

— What Has the “Revitalization System” Brought? —

I have told about what happened at the time of the announcement of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement in relation to a few points I formed through my own experience. Now I should like to look back on how the question of reunification has changed after the joint statement and what events have happened behind it.

1) The Pak regime suddenly declared martial law on October 17, 1972, and revised the Constitution in such a way as to concentrate on one man, the President, the three powers of administration, legislation, and judicature in addition to military power. It coincided with my talk with Mr. Kim Dae Jung over the joint statement in Tokyo. The Pak regime itself named this abnormal system the “Revitalization system”. With the lapse of time its voice became louder in praise of this system. Now “national harmony” and “Revitalization system” have become the greatest national slogans. Yet, because of this Revitalization system Mr. Kim Dae Jung was unable to return to his homeland. He made tours to the US and Japan. In that while he was abducted by the brutal force of the Revitalization system. He and many other democratic personages were enchained under the name of national harmony. Things thus went just as predicted by Mr. Kim Dae Jung who had warned against “a danger of dictatorship being kept under the name of reunification.”

Needless to say, the south Korean government, explaining

the motive of the proclamation of the martial law and the necessity of the Revitalization system, is offering various reasons different from one foretold by Mr. Kim Dae Jung, and insisting that they are all for the benefit of the people. But even the United States which has long backed the south Korean regime and kept on intimate terms with it seems to find bones in the reasons furnished by it. The aforesaid report of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee said straightforwardly: "Of course, it is only Pak Jung Hi himself that can clearly tell the true motive of the declaration of the martial law—whether it was his personal desire to seize greater powers or his concern for the benefit of south Korea or a mixture of these two. However, most of the observers we met held the view that everything stemmed from Pak Jung Hi's desire to stay in power as long as possible." The report also pointed out that "suppression of citizens' freedom is harsher than ever before since the days of Syngman Rhee." Then it sharply criticized the Revitalization system of the Pak regime, saying: "Pak Jung Hi has now taken the power which he wanted. There are only three ways to remove him from his post—whether he retires by himself or he breathes his last or he is overthrown.... There is only one thing Pak Jung Hi wants now—the support of the KCIA and military authorities." The investigation group visited south Korea in November 1972 to prepare this report and dispatched it to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 17, 1973. (Note: This report was treated as a secret document at first and made public on February 18 with some part of it crossed out. It was translated and published in an abridged form in the March 1973 issue of Japanese weekly *Sekai Shuho*.) It can be said that this report forecast the present south Korean political situation fairly long ago. All the objective observers had shared the same view. And it is true that the danger of the Revitalization system was too tangible from the start. It is hardly necessary to say here how gravely the Revitalization system has been threatening south Korean democracy and Korean people's patriotic movement since it came into being nearly 4 years ago.

One thing I feel keenly, I repeat, is that the Revitalization system is bringing forth just what we had worried over and that the cruelty of this repressive system far exceeds our expectations.

2) As you know well, the south Korean government and its sympathizers or supporters assert the validity of the Revitalization system, describing the present situation under it as "the south Korean-style democracy." And they gloss over even the suppression of human rights, saying it is an interim step taken necessarily and unavoidably for the sake of security under the condition where "there exists the threat of southward invasion from the north". They also say that it is unfair and impermissible for the people of other countries with a poor understanding of the present situation of south Korea to put up the idea of human rights waywardly or to comment on the present situation of south Korea with the general notion of democracy. Though this is a brigandish argument, it has begun to be accepted as it is repeated and as time advances. In Japan, too, there seem to have appeared actualists who affirm the south Korean situation, pretending to be well informed of it.

Needless to say, we cannot accept their argument, "Just sit mum and look".

The idea of democracy is universal from the first. It is a common idea obtained by mankind in the course of the struggle for modernization and against ensuing fascism.

We should say that the reality of the "ROK-style democracy" which has to deny this universal democracy reveals its anti-democratic, anti-mankind nature by itself.

Moreover, the problem of human rights in a given country should not be judged from the words of its government. It is a problem to be viewed from the stand of the oppressed. It is worthless to argue about the problem of human rights on the side of the government, the oppressor. It is as bad as overriding human rights. To take one instance. The eight persons involved in the case of the "People's Revolutionary Party" were suddenly put to death last spring. They fell a victim to a fabri-

cated case. Their trial had been unfair, even granting that the case was true.

They suffered a cruel torture. A foreign priest was detained by the KCIA and then banished from south Korea while trying to ascertain the case out of his sympathy with the appeal from the families of the accused. The south Korean regime executed all of the accused suddenly on the early morning of April 9. They killed them in a cunning way. On April 8, the previous day, the Supreme Court rendered its verdict on the rejection of their appeals in ten minutes in the absence of the defendants and lawyers. That day their families barely obtained permission to meet them the next day. On the next morning they waited for an interview but only to get the news that the accused had already been executed. Still worse, they were not allowed even to receive the dead bodies.

All this was supposedly aimed at preventing them from seeing the scars of torture. One defendant's family member who managed to see the inside of the coffin after an argument with the authorities said that the face of her husband was so disfigured that it could be hardly possible to make out him and all his fingers of both hands were missing. T.K. who keeps sending secret letters from south Korea wrote that they had been "butchered." The appeals of two families carried in the December 1974 and July 1975 issues of *Sekai* are so pitiful one can hardly read them with dry eyes. One appealmaker is Mrs. Kang Sun Hui who was deprived of her husband, U Hong Son. She wrote she had cried in the final judgement: "Please, spare him. Spare him, I beg you. Don't remain mere onlookers, but help me."

The problem of human rights is one to which all are responsible, transcending the national boundaries. In a given age, this problem is related to all its contemporaries.

What is more, in south Korea where the Japanese government policy is deeply involved in its repressive political structure, it is a matter of common concern to all living in this age and, at the same time, a problem for which the Japanese people are constantly called to account. Recently, Mr. Kim Ji Ha

appeared in court, where he lashed repeatedly at the adhesive Japan-ROK relations mentioning Kishi Nobusuke, Sato Eisaku, Shiina Etsusaburo, Kodama Yoshio and others by names. While reading Mr. Kim Ji Ha's reproach, I cannot but feel that distrust and antagonism are growing between the Japanese and Korean peoples, centering around the fundamental problem of man today when they still fail to heal the old feud. This is the reason why we should not "remain onlookers."

3) Now I should like to reconsider what results this Revitalization system has brought about. I think we can roughly note the following three big points:

Firstly, the Revitalization system has rather aggravated tension between the north and south than before the publication of the July 4 Joint Statement. In accordance with the joint statement, the north-south Red Cross talks were held twice in Seoul and Pyongyang in the autumn of that year. At that time I was in Pyongyang and chanced to see citizens who, lining the broad street, were sending off the delegation heading for Seoul by car. I heard at first hand the words of the delegation leader who had been to Seoul.

Both sides seemed to disagree with each other on various points. But I thought the repeat of talks would improve the situation where both sides tended to have only a closed-door understanding of the other side.

But, as you know well, the door of talks was closed in August 1973, the next year, because of the case of the abduction of Mr. Kim Dae Jung. That case occurred on August 8. The DPRK side closely watched the development of the case and, on August 28, three weeks later, made its stand clear. It issued a statement under the name of Kim Yong Ju, Co-Chairman of the North-South Coordination Commission on the DPRK side. The statement was a lengthy one. Its main content was the demand that KCIA Director Li Hu Rak be deposed from the post of Co-Chairman on the south Korean side. The reason was that the criminal Kim Dae Jung case was the work of the KCIA and it was absolutely impossible to sit with that bully and talk

over the important national problems. This statement led the talks of the North-South Coordination Commission to suspension. It was a resolute determination on the part of the DPRK side.

The north made it clear that the north-south dialogue was impossible so long as the Revitalization system was in force in the south. When viewed from a political angle, this means, therefore, that the north has narrowed down the dimension of choice of its own accord and also voluntarily chosen a rugged path on which it will find it hard to take a flexible policy in tackling the reunification question. Yet, I thought this choice was quite in the nature of things and sympathized with it. In view of the content of the July 4 Joint Statement, it is natural for the north to declare such resolution towards the brutal suppressive system of the south. With the declaration of this resolution, Mr. Kim Dae Jung and south Korean intellectuals who doubted the joint statement when it was made public, have come to understand the north, I suppose. I have already said, there had been various conjectures as to which side initiated the joint statement and what the DPRK side was up to. But I think the DPRK side's stand and its new initiative with regard to the joint statement are clearly manifested in its determination and intention expressed on August 28.

Secondly, we can say that the Revitalization system has further isolated the Pak regime internationally and intensified the struggle for democracy at home. We were deeply impressed by the south Korean students' movement, the struggle of men of the press for the freedom of speech, the stubborn resistance of Christians for democracy and other movements conducted under the Revitalization system. Needless to say, the number of their participants is small as they fight under the extremely repressive system. But if one, absolutizing this minority, either thinks that the "south Korean-style democracy" is being exercised without any contradiction or underestimates the might of democratic force, it is certainly a mistake. Recently a message came to me from a south Korean student who is engaging in the

underground activity. It ran in the following vein: You may think it is strange why we students don't rise up in the struggle. But please see how things stand with us. Then, citing one case after another he wrote about how severe suppression, watch and intervention the students' movement, nay, the students were subjected to. These two or three years, I often hear south Korean intellectuals saying: "The ruling method of the present Pak regime is crueler than at the time of Japanese imperialist rule."

In fact, that student wrote about this cruelty. Even in face of this cruelty, however, the students' underground movement and the Christians' struggle are going on. The "March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation" affords a glimpse of their struggle for democracy, I think.

The intensification of this struggle serves to accelerate the international isolation of the Pak regime. If it sticks to its present policy, the Pak regime will land itself in greater isolation in spite of its smile diplomacy, I believe.

Thirdly, it can be said that the Revitalization system has brought about a qualitative change and development of the democratization struggle in south Korea. As mentioned above, the Revitalization system has tightened up the terror rule to the last degree on the one hand and, on the other, consequently frustrated the north-south dialogue. These two changes have led the democratization struggle to seeking social reforms in south Korea, overstepping the bounds of a mere demand for the recovery of democracy or the Pak regime's retirement. In the vortex of worsening repression, each democratization movement is rather tempered and its idea grows loftier. For instance, Mr. Kim Jae Jun wrote an article for *Sekai* last autumn under the title, "Why Is the South Korean Church Fighting?" His argument was astoundingly keen. He is well known as the eldest of the Presbyterian denomination and the honorary president of the Hanguk Theological Seminary. He had worked as one of the top leaders of the democratization struggle under the Pak regime before he made a trip abroad. Unable to come back

home, he is now in Canada and works as chief of the headquarters of the "National Council for Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification" in America. He is a Christian and typical intellectual of south Korea. But he is also known as an anti-communist. So, when his article was carried in *Sekai*, his acquaintances showed a doubt, asking: "Is it true that Mr. Kim Jae Jun has written it?" Let me introduce his article briefly. He pointed out the fact that the Korean Christianity had strengthened its nationalist foundation ever since the historical resistance to Japanese colonial domination. Then he insisted that the mission of the south Korean Christianity is to overthrow the Pak regime in view of the developments after the establishment of the Revitalization system, and this is as good as putting Jesus' teaching into effect. Meanwhile, he wrote that "Love neighbours like oneself" is the Magna Carta of the Christian ethics and our "neighbours" are the same blood in the north. And he stressed that unpardonable was the Pak regime which takes an inimical stand toward the same blood in the north according to its "anti-communist national policy." I think this is evidently a new, broad viewpoint for a learned Christian of south Korea. Mr. Kim Jae Jun went so far as to declare: "So far both the south Korean students and churches have employed a form of non-violence and non-compromise in resisting the Pak Jung Hi dictatorial system. However, such a method of struggle should be decided flexibly according to circumstances, shouldn't it? ...Revolution cannot be successful without resorting, more or less, to violence." This is an exceptionally tough posture, I should say.

Among the Christians who keep struggling for democracy in spite of their repeated detention there are a group who are striving to relieve slum dwellers and effect social reforms. It is already well known that Mr. Kim Ji Ha asserts the materialization of social justice and aspires after liberation in this sense. It is also noteworthy that there has appeared such a theologian as Mr. Mun Dong Hwan who advocates the theology of liberation and pays great attention to independence and reform in the

third world. Mr. Mun Dong Hwan is the younger brother of theologian Mr. Mun Ik Hwan. Both brothers are now detained because of their involvement in the recent case of the March First Declaration for Democratic National Salvation. Mr. Mun Dong Hwan's thesis was once carried in *Sekai* at someone's suggestion. It was a very persuasive and interesting thesis in that it tried to find the theoretical foundation of the south Korean Christianity concerning the democratization movement in a new theology of liberation in the third world. In court, Messrs. Kim Dae Jung, Kim Ji Ha and Mun Dong Hwan are now all stressing that they have not attempted to overthrow the government. In view of their theory and thinking their statement sounds true. It is not intended for a judicial decision favourable to them. I have cited only a few examples, but the demand and struggle for democracy in south Korea cannot but be naturally associated with a struggle for social reforms there. Likewise, the reunification question has become a problem that can be solved not merely through north-south dialogues or interchanges but in close association with the problem of democratization and social reform in the south. It is a direct outcome of the Pak regime's anti-communism and harshest suppressive system. There may be various views concerning the Pak regime's stability. Anyhow, the internal contradictions caused by the Revitalization system are growing sharper with the days. They are not confined to the Pak regime. I think they are about to deepen the contradictions of south Korea itself.

4. POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE PAK REGIME

— What Has Brought the “Revitalization System”? —

I have said that I felt somewhat uneasy about the July 4 Joint Statement when it was issued. Unfortunately this uneasiness came true. Its rate and intensity were beyond imagina-

tion. However, in view of the Pak regime's political foundation on which it stands and exists and of its habitude, the present state of affairs is a logical outcome, I should say.

1) Mr. Kim Dae Jung most graphically described the Pak regime's constitution or its character. As mentioned above, *Sekai* carried the answers given to my questions by Mr. Kim Dae Jung three weeks before he was kidnapped. Part of it reads:

"As for Pak Jung Hi's career, he, as you know, graduated from the Military Academy in former Manchuria and Japan and served in the army even after liberation. One characteristic feature of the army, I think, is that everything is handled on the basis of a set way of thinking. And in his eyes, the original, democratic way of thinking that seeks unity in the midst of diversity is nothing more than a confusion. This way of thinking coupled with his personal lust for permanent seizure of political power has led him to a horrible dictatorship".

Already three years ago Kim Dae Jung described the Pak regime as a "horrible dictatorship". Facing the present situation, one may hardly find a proper word for it.

And Mr. Kim Dae Jung characterized the Pak regime in three aspects: Firstly, it is a military regime, secondly an intelligence regime and thirdly a regime which makes a quick change and asserts what is unprincipled to be a principle. The first characteristic of the military regime is its conception that force is everything. And in the army's conception, there is only an enemy, not the sort of a rival. The "enemy" is based on the way of thinking that it must be finished off. The press, the Opposition and everything must be stamped out; one who gets the upper hand by any means is on the side of justice; and victory is the ultimate goal—this has become characteristic of the Pak regime.

The second feature—an intelligence regime. Its line-up is exclusively composed of former intelligence officers like Kim Jong Pil, Yun Pil Yong, Pak Jong Gyu and others with Pak Jung Hi on the throne. Mr. Kim Dae Jung explained: "I suppo-

se one may be able to perceive the mentality of an intelligence officer if he thinks of the Japanese gendarmerie or special high police rule in the past. In view of their very nature, it is impossible for them to look straight into the reality, prevail on the masses and join hands with them. They try to find weakpoints of their opponents and then scheme to beat them down...."

"Now the third feature—a quick transformation," Mr. Kim Dae Jung proceeded. "The quickness is simply amazing. It eats its words like a horse." A brief retrospect of the Pak regime's past may be enough to attest to Mr. Kim's remarks.

Mr. Kim Dae Jung pointed out the Pak regime's characteristics very simply, yet very pertinently, I think. He hits them to a tee. Though I repeat myself, Mr Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped and nearly murdered on the very day when such statement of his was made public by the magazine. In the past three years since then, the south Korean regime has repressed and manhandled him by various methods, bargained his case with the Japanese side, and vindicated itself before the south Koreans and the world public opinion. All this vividly reveals the Pak regime's characteristics just as pointed out by Mr. Kim Dae Jung. There is no need of mentioning all the details of it to you.

2) For the study of the present political situation of south Korea I deem it necessary to retrace the course pursued by the Pak regime with such a constitution in strengthening its political foothold.

I should like to say a few words about this. Fifteen years have passed since the Pak regime came into being through the 1961 military coup. I think we can study this fifteen-year history in four stages. As I have already sought your understanding, I'm not a researcher. So I'm afraid if my division of that history is reasonable. But I'm going to express my view as a subject of study.

The first stage of the four is the time of the military coup staged on May 16, 1961; the second stage is the time when the Pak regime, the offspring of the military coup, switched from a military regime over to a civilian one; the third stage is the

point of the year 1965 when the Pak regime, as mentioned above, made two major choices—conclusion of the Japan-south Korea treaty and dispatch of the south Korean troops to Viet Nam; and the fourth stage is the present period of the Revitalization system.

(A) Before referring to the nature of the May 16 military coup of the first stage, I should like to introduce an article which was carried in *Choson Ilbo* dated May 1, 1960.

This article was written when south Korea was thrown into a storm of historical emotions with the victory of the April 19 Student Revolution. Reading it, I could not hold back my tears at that time. And I was deeply moved by the sagacious spirit of the Korean nation. It may make my speech a bit lengthy, but I would like to introduce the full text of that article entitled, "What did you do and where were you at that time? Your unknown father." (From "Bloody April" published on August 15, 1960, by the Choson Munhwa Publishing House.)

My dear daughter, In Ok!

I have written this for a newspaper to make many people read it. For I want to share this shame and this pain with them and cry together, thinking I'm not the only father who has a daughter and all the 7,000 parents, brothers and sisters who send their daughters to your university will have the same feeling as mine. Here I dropped the name of your university on purpose. But everybody may guess it because your university is the only one (I think so) among the universities in Seoul that failed to participate in that "April 19 Demonstration."

Your father who has been looking after you as a mean country surgeon has experienced this sorrow and anguish for the first time in my life as a father and a citizen.

Yours had been a famous university which boasted its brilliant tradition with a history record of scores of years and produced many wise mothers and good wives and woman leaders. People said that your university students were disposed to luxury and license and that its expenses were greater than other

universities. But in consideration of its history, its well-furnished facilities and the number of its students, I rather contradicted or refuted this criticism, thinking it would have come from lack of understanding.

But it was not because you attended it that I did so. But I have become such a "disgraceful father" who has no say in anything. I don't know how much time I spent turning over each page of every newspaper out of the desire to find the name of your university. Your father now with poor eyesight and memory, however, could find none of it. How strange is it that only your university has dropped out of those young ranks at this stirring historic moment when I can't hold back tears swelling up in my eyes even while reading the newspaper? Is it the spirit inherent in your university boasting of its tradition and history of scores of years, that its students including my daughter have failed to join so many young people?

In Ok, recently I earn a scanty income. I'm sure you know better than anybody else that I'm not a man of fortune. Yet, I have done my bit for you lest you should be unfavourably compared with other girls and have anything to complain of. And it was my earnest wish that you became a woman who takes pride in "honourable misfortune" rather than "mean happiness."

When the whole streets of Seoul were in flames kindled by those youngsters of your age, what did you do and where were you, In Ok? What on earth were you, my blood, thinking of just when the "storm of blood" was sweeping over the mountains and plains and at length all the outworn and corrupt things were giving way to the young hearts in your age? Have those burning hearts the blood of different colour from yours? Were those cries dispelling the darkness different from yours in timbre?

Was there no one among those young standard bearers whom you can love at the risk of your own life? It is lamentable. It is resentful. You have defiled your youth of your own accord and reduced yourself to an orphan of the times!

How can you strut along under this sun with the “badge” on your breast? This father with the daughter keeping her hair and skirt unscathed is far more painful than the parents who have lost their sons or daughters!

In Ok! put the “badge” off, leave your university and rush to the hospital! Feel ashamed like an offender, humble your pride and lavish your blood upon those young heroes who are still groaning in sickbeds! If only they allow themselves to receive the blood of a girl like you....

And then come back straight to this countryside! It would rather solace this father’s mind. Reflect on yourself calmly before your father! You’ll know too well that your father has never sent you to the university to make you a “young lady of a rich family.”

Greeting the dawn of this solemn history, your father is unable to allay excitement.

In Ok! You had better put your hand on your breast and ask yourself before you think your father has gone too far in reproaching you.

Just imagine father’s mind devoted to his beloved daughter....

Your father.

The uninscribed university here is supposed to be Lihwa Women’s University. Five years later when the fierce struggle against the Japan-ROK treaty broke out, the students of this university joined in it. And today too, many of its students can be seen fighting devotedly and stubbornly for democracy against the Revitalization system.

This faithful father who addressing a severe yet earnest appeal to his daughter must be a man who has forced his way through the tribulations of the Korean nation which suffered hardships under long-drawn Japanese colonial rule and then due to the national split after liberation.

His views on the April 19 Student Revolution impressively reflect what great support and sympathy that revolution won

from the south Korean people. To the south Koreans the April 19 Student Revolution is a national symbol which allows of no negation by anyone.

That was why the military coup d'état, which was staged in 1961, the next year, evidently to negate the April 19 Revolution, could not but call for succession to the spirit of the student revolution before the people. In those days the organizers of the military coup reiterated that they took over the spirit of the April 19 Student Revolution won at the cost of the blood of students and that the political situation should be straightened out while developing this spirit further. True, such words could be hardly heard in the last few years. But in those days the Pak regime was forced to utter them, even though outwardly. This bespeaks that the April 19 Student Revolution represented the unanimous will of the south Korean people.

Of course, I don't think south Koreans accepted the military regime, believing the words of the military coup organizers. Even under the strict control of the military regime the press, the Opposition and a wide range of people were highly critical and apprehensive of the military regime.

But, at the same time, they put expectations on a new strong power established in the wake of the military coup. Their expectations were by no means small in those days, I believe. They were related to the social unrest following the April 19 Revolution. It was in the nature of things that the collapse of Syngman Rhee's repressive regime of long standing by the students-centred forces gave rise to a great social disturbance. What is more, the press showed sudden vigorous activities inasmuch as the people won liberation from long-drawn repressive rule for themselves. All this looked a kind of confusion in the eyes of the people. And the then Chang Myon Cabinet that did not represent the main revolutionary force aggravated that confusion, constantly swaying now to the "Left," now to the right forces. Under these circumstances the students who succeeded in the April 19 Revolution strongly voiced for

north-south negotiations under the slogan, "Come to the south, let's go to the north." It appears that most people shared their feeling inwardly but, at the same time, showed unrest and fear, thinking it was unrealistic. Later, one south Korean intellectual told me: "Even in that social confusion, the people, moved by the student revolution, give strong support to it but, at the same time, looked for a good-minded, benevolent dictator instead of a detestable, malicious one like Syngman Rhee."

Amidst such confusion and unrest, the organizers of the military coup advocated "Succession to the April 19 Revolution" and "social security." But the "Succession to the April 19 Revolution" was nothing but a signboard which was compelled to put up before the nationalism of the south Koreans. In fact, the military coup was staged to negate it. The 15-year records of the Pak regime prove this eloquently. Celebrating the first anniversary of the student revolution on April 19, 1961, the students put up a new slogan, "Let's reject foreign forces!" along with "Come to the south! Let's go to the north!" And an increasing number of pressmen and politicians voiced in response to it. So Min Ho who passed away a few years ago and other politicians came out with such concrete political problems as mutual visits of pressmen and sportsmen and communication between the north and the south. The founding of daily *Minjok Ilbo*, which I have introduced at the beginning, represented one aspect of those trends. However, as can be seen in the case of *Minjok Ilbo*, the one-month-old military government openly stood in the way of the efforts for north-south negotiations. This revealed the true nature of the Pak regime in its inception.

But apart from the problem of the Pak regime, there was one fact which was worthy of attention at that time. It is that the April 19 Student Revolution brought the great national task for reunification to the surface. This was something unthinkable under Syngman Rhee rule. The mere word "reunification" had been tabooed under the Syngman Rhee regime. But this regime was toppled by the student revolution and even

the military regime which came out to deny that revolution was forced to advocate succession to its spirit and raise the problem of reunification as a political task. The word "reunification" was no longer taboo. This, I think, was a very important change.

(B) The second stage covers the period of switching of the military administration over to the civil one. The unusual military administration subsequent to the military coup was repulsive to the people from the outset. Two years later the organizers of the military coup committed themselves to the transfer of power to civilians. They said that they had staged the coup to straighten out the political situation of south Korea while furthering the spirit of the student revolution and that they would transfer power to civilians when this purpose was fully attained.

However, the military administration failed to improve the situation with its power politics. On the contrary, it faced growing criticism because it brought strong pressure to bear on the press and political parties with the Anti-Communist Law and the Political Activity Purification Law, causing resistance, and because it showed a sign of negation both in words and deeds concerning the transfer of power to civilians when the date for the fulfilment of its promise was drawing nearer. Pak Jung Hi was thus compelled to announce the "9-point statement" on February 18, 1963, which was a signal event in south Korea. Its main content is that "I will not participate in the power transferred to civilians but return to the army if I am convinced that the validity of the military coup is admitted, that its organizers are free from political reprisal, and that the ins and outs are ready to contribute with concerted efforts to the stability of the political situation." Pak Jung Hi reportedly shed his tears reading this statement before the politicians of the ins and outs. This calmed down criticism on the military administration.

The 9-point statement was synchronized with a demonstration of the servicemen on active duty who voiced positive

opposition to the transfer of power to civilians. It will be correct to say that he organized that demonstration. With this demonstration of armymen for a background, there came forth on March 16 a statement that the military administration would extend its term of office for four years. It appears that the United States expressed a great surprise at it and put strong pressure on the Pak regime. So the latter withdrew the above statement and eventually put an end to the military administration. But already at that time a new political party called the Democratic Republican Party had been formed to nominate Pak Jung Hi for presidency. This happened in May that year. Pak's prompt or unprincipled turnabout was just as pointed out by Mr. Kim Dae Jung. It recalls us of the Pak regime's compromise with Japan following the Kim Dae Jung case. He takes a stiff posture only to assume a soft one the next moment. He swallows his words and cuts a clumsy figure. He organizes government-sponsored demonstrations. All this you know too well. He is dead on glossing over things as a politician. But I think the trick played by the Pak regime in transferring power to civilians is the paragon of its politics.

In this way Pak Jung Hi succeeded in changing his military uniform into civilian clothes. But, I think that the Pak regime was virtually most uncomfortable and powerless in that period, and that there were a few factors that contributed to filling up its weak power.

The first factor is irregularity and corruption. It is well-known to everyone that the Lockheed scandal is an organizational corruption involving Japan, south Korea and the US. The last 15 years of the Pak regime have witnessed numerous cases of irregularity and corruption, big and small, most of which are related with Japan. We can see the Pak regime practiced most disgraceful corruption in the period when its foundation was still shaky. To cite only big scandals retained in our memory, there were the securities fluctuation scandal, cement, fertilizer, wheat and sugar scandals known as the four-powder fluctuation scandal, and the Saenara Auto scandal.

The last one occurred over the profits that accrued when selling Japanese *Blue Birds* with the "Saenara" trademark after assembling them in south Korea. Through the Tanaka gold vein and Lockheed scandals we know well how easy it is for those in power to commit irregularities and how they increase their power. The Pak regime, before transferring power to civilians, formed the Democratic Republican Party and stood for the presidential election. Then he lavished a huge sum of the slush fund on his party activity and election campaign. This is a common knowledge of the south Korean political world.

Another factor which has strengthened the foothold of the Pak regime is the US and Japan. It just worked in the third stage of the Pak regime.

(c) The third stage of the Pak regime coincides with the year 1965. In my opinion, the year 1965 was most important year for the Pak regime marking a turning point in its 15-year history.

As you know, in February that year the US started to bomb the northern part of Vietnam and drew itself into the Vietnamese war full scale. That very year the Pak regime made the two major choices—the dispatch of the south Korean troops to Vietnam at the US request and the conclusion of the Japan-ROK treaty. With this the Pak regime came to enjoy the full support of the US and Japan.

The US government, which had incessantly intervened in the Vietnam war negating her national self-determination, arousing a wave of anti-communism and pursuing the cold war policy, bombed the northern part of Vietnam and thus entered a total war against Vietnam at last, trying internally and externally to bring the war to an early conclusion. The dispatch of the south Korean troops to Vietnam and the conclusion of the Japan-ROK treaty were very significant and necessary for the US from the strategical point of view. As for the Japan-south Korea relations, their "normalization" meant ensuring the political and military security of the US in the Far East. Economically the US which had been perturbed at the heavy

cost of the Vietnam war schemed to lighten its burden of aid to south Korea by shifting it to Japan. Originally the US strongly wanted the "normalization of the Japan-ROK relations" and, from the days of Yoshida Shigeru and Syngman Rhee, it sought for their compromise. But things didn't go as it wished because of the anti-Japanese sentiments of the south Koreans. Now involving itself into the Vietnam war full scale, the US came to make strong requests to Japan and south Korea, and the governments of both countries granted them. Particularly, by making two choices all at once the Pak regime actively acceded to the US request, defying the strong opposition at home.

When the troop dispatch to Vietnam was decided, a south Korean newspaper used a symbolic expression, "A domino is tossed." It appears that the south Korean newspapers too could not offer a stiff opposition to that decision as it was related with the US. Most of them, I remember, criticized it in such an indirect way that if the troop dispatch to Vietnam was indispensable, the government should make clear what profits it would actually bring to south Korea. Unable to give allout opposition at the National Assembly too, its members confined themselves to raising many questions such as: How is it that a south Korean soldier receives only 30 dollars a month in Vietnam while a US soldier is granted a special allowance of 235 dollars a month? But, from the words, "A domino is tossed," we can see that the south Korean journalists fully grasped the meaning of the troop dispatch to Vietnam in those days. More than 300,000 south Korean soldiers in total had been reportedly sent to Vietnam until the ceasefire and more than 3,700 fell in action there. At this cost the south Korean regime earned a direct income of 950 million dollars, I'm told. Meanwhile, south Korean soldiers caused a trouble in Vietnam by perpetrating acts similar to the Son My massacre case of American soldiers. A written investigation on it was worked out. I have no materials enough to confirm whether it was true or not. However, it seems that the south Korean intellectuals are still plagued

by their disheartening thought—why should the south Koreans, who know the tragedy of a split nation better than anybody else, go to Vietnam and kill her people who are undergoing the same sufferings from split?

The troop dispatch to Vietnam enabled the Pak regime to obtain the confidence and backing of the US, while the Japan-ROK treaty helped it lay foundations for economic construction. But on the part of us Japanese, we can say that the Japanese had all along played the role of a supply base for the US in the Vietnam war, while backing the Pak regime economically under Japan-ROK treaty. Now, 10 years later, Japan's economic inroads into and aid to south Korea have far surpassed those of the US. This is a well-known fact.

However, the Japan-south Korea talks, unlike the troop dispatch to Vietnam, encountered a strong opposition of the south Korean people. One student demonstration followed after another and the Opposition voiced severe criticism. The struggle against the Japan-ROK treaty in south Korea was incomparably fiercer than that in Japan. The Pak regime had to proclaim a garrison decree to cope with it. Needless to say, that fierce opposition came from the traditional and righteous anti-Japanese sentiments of the south Korean people. Such ill-feeling they had against Japan was blended with their keen vigilance against the establishment of diplomatic relations with Japan and the subsequent influx of Japanese capital which might lead to Japan's new colonial rule over south Korea. Accordingly, the Pak regime which concluded the Japan-ROK treaty, defying public sentiments, was denounced as a traitor, as "the second traitor Li Wan Yong." While watching the fierce resistance struggle going on in south Korea, I pondered over why the struggle against the Japan-ROK treaty in Japan was not welded with that in south Korea.

I thought there was another thing that should not be belittled with regard to the conclusion of the Japan-ROK treaty.

It is that the "normalization" of Japan-ROK relations through the conclusion of the treaty—(I don't consider it to

be "normalization," but the governments of both countries say so.)—carried a new meaning as something like an open-door policy and modernization on the part of south Korea. Under the Syngman Rhee regime south Korea opened the door only to the United States and received every military, economic and political aid from it. On the other hand, the Rhee regime took an anti-Japanese stand from start to finish. It thus even tried to smother popular discontent with its repressive system by fanning up the anti-Japanese sentiment.

The problem of the Syngman Rhee line will be a case in point. True, the "normalization" of the Pak regime's relations with Japan was based on the strategic need of the United States in every respect. But at the same time the Pak regime intended to get rid of the Rhee regime's radical closed-door policy and find the way for south Korea to advance to the international arena and attain a high development of industry. The "normalization" was necessary as a powerful lever for this, I think. In contrast, the Opposition forces came out mainly with the slogan, "We oppose humiliating diplomacy toward Japan." But, as pointed out above, it included an anachronistic assertion which probably is the Opposition's mistake. For instance, it asserted: Japan is pursuing pro-communist policy and joins hands even with Reds if it is in the interests of business; we cannot sell off to such pro-communist Japan the Syngman Rhee line which we have safeguarded at the cost of our blood; that's why we are positively against the south Korea-Japan treaty. In this assertion is reflected south Korean people's complex national sentiments, which cannot be regarded as an anachronism.

But, it may be said that availing itself of such outdated anti-communism, the Pak regime tried to absorb the people's minds with its professed intention of industrialization and internationalization which can be called the "open-door policy."

It happened in the autumn of 1961 when Pak Jung Hi visited the United States. President Kennedy seemed not to be favourably disposed towards the military government, and it

appeared the press corps in the White House, likewise, gave him a very cold reception. His visit was made when apprehension was felt about the execution of the death sentence of Cho Yong Su of *Minjok Ilbo*. The representative of the press corps extended a protest to him in the first place, saying:

"We didn't want to receive you here though you are the chief of a foreign state. It is because you are going to kill a journalist like Cho Yong Su, paying no heed to the voices of journalists of the world including us asking for his life." In such atmosphere, it was reported, Pak Jung Hi turned pale and was rooted to the ground.

Afterwards, the Pak regime commenced vigorous action to consolidate its international position. The ministerial conference of Asia and the Pacific, an anti-communist setup of Asia, which was advocated by the Pak regime from 1964, was organized in 1966. When Nguyen Cao Ky, Prime Minister of south Vietnam, visited south Korea in November 1965, a friendship treaty was concluded between south Korea and south Vietnam. At that time the joint statement emphasized "unification by prevailing over communism" which means achieving unification after defeating communism.

At the ceremony of sending off the Fierce Tiger Unit to south Vietnam in October the same year Pak Jung Hi stressed, "We throw our lot with south Vietnam." He also said, "Our south Korea is now in a position to help other country." In those days Pak Jung Hi emphatically reiterated, "As a result of conclusion of the south Korea-Japan treaty the anti-communist system is strengthened in Asia." Though anti-communism is put up here, it shows that south Korea is actively striving to extricate itself from a state of seclusion and occupy a certain position on the international arena. But, at that time, I wrote an article for a magazine. In it I predicted:

"I wonder whether the pendulum now forcibly held up by the Pak regime will come down on the reverse side when the foundation of international politics of the Pak regime that made these two choices crumbles, that is, when the US policy toward

Vietnam ends in complete failure or when China comes nearer to her rightful international position."

Ten years have passed, but as ill luck would have it, the situation of today shows my prediction has turned out true. Though I have mentioned the Revitalization system enforced from 1972 as the fourth stage of the Pak regime, I regard this system as the period of reaction in which an attempt is made to check the bankruptcy of the two choices in 1965 by means of an extreme repressive system under the circumstances in which the forcibly lifted-up pendulum, which might be called a vicarious compensation for those choices, swung in the other direction.

Last spring when the United States and its followers were completely expelled from south Vietnam and the national reunification became certain, the Pak regime showed a sensitive reaction. It excited terror by making a fuss about the actual possibility of "southward invasion from the north." It is very interesting to note that even some of the press organs of Japan were inclined to speak in favour of it. Taking advantage of such phobia, the Pak regime further strengthened its internal political system and stopped the mouths of the democratic forces on the ground that they would incur the "southward invasion from the north" and endanger the state system of south Korea. Under the circumstances, US Defence Secretary Schlesinger made a stupid yet dangerous and intolerable statement that if the north invaded the south it would be retaliated with a nuclear attack.

In fact hundreds of nuclear warheads are deployed in south Korea, as was revealed by LaRocque's testimony. The south Korean government is keenly desirous of nuclear development. At present it is importing an atomic reactor from Canada under the name of peaceful use. The Pak regime is dashing along the path of reaction uncontrolledly and this is clearly shown in the internal system. But we cannot but say that in regard to the problem of peace, too, it is in a state of risking danger uncontrolledly.

It can be said that the Pak regime has made a choice of the worst of the cold-war structures in Asia, but now that the cold-war policy of the US has gone bankrupt, it seems attempting to persist in that structure all by itself.

5. JULY 4 JOINT STATEMENT AND NORTH KOREA

I have referred to the situation of the south following the publication of the July 4 Joint Statement and to some points concerning its background. Now I would like to give a short account of the situation in the north.

In my view, north Korea, that is, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, remains invariable as ever in its fundamental stand of respecting the July 4 Joint Statement and providing conditions for great national unity according to it. In 1973, in order to give shape to the July 4 Joint Statement, north Korea expressed its idea of establishing the Confederal Republic of Koryo. Visiting Pyongyang in March this year, I had the audience of President Kim Il Sung and asked him if I should understand that there still remained unchanged his policy for reunification following the publication of the July 4 Joint Statement including his conception on the Confederal Republic of Koryo. His answer was: "Our views expressed in the North-South Joint Statement are still effective. We intend to make continued efforts to carry our point.

"However, we do not mean that we will never agree to other than what we propose. If both the north and the south sit together and have serious discussions, there may emerge better proposals. Then we are ready to agree to them."

This answer was understandable to me. And I think the following points have been clarified as the north's stand in the course of the maintenance of its fundamental policy according

to the developments of the situation, to be exact, from the necessity of following the spirit of the July 4 Joint Statement:

Firstly, as mentioned above, due to the establishment of the Revitalization system, the north-south dialogue is impossible as long as the present repressive system of the Pak regime is not removed. With the Kim Dae Jung case as an occasion, Pyongyang made a drastic choice which, as I said, is righteous in view of the spirit of the July 4 Joint Statement. This posture towards the Pak regime has become stiffer since then.

In connection with this posture of the north, the Pak regime and those close to it are insisting that north Korea is standing in the way of the north-south dialogue and rejecting any effort to seek the chance of interchange through various proposals.

I asked President Kim Il Sung what views he had on this point. "In order to achieve the great national unity in accordance with the principles of the North-South Joint Statement," he said, "it is necessary to guarantee the democratization of society and the freedom of political activity of all parties, groupings and personages of all walks of life." He added that the south Korean authorities, however, were going exactly against this course. Citing some instances of the complaints brought against the north about its stubborn rejection to the dialogue and interchange, I more than once questioned the President on his views of it. Nodding his head, he said in an emphatic tone:

"The south Korean authorities...are imprisoning and savagely repressing many patriotic democrats, youth and students of south Korea who fight against the division of the homeland and for the democratization of south Korean society. The reactionary rulers of south Korea had Kim Dae Jung kidnapped in Japan in broad daylight and are repressing him through a trial, because he opposed their treacherous policies against the country and the people; and they jailed poet Kim Ji Ha because he had written a poem that criticized them. They stigmatize any opponent as a Communist and, on the charge of the violation of the 'Anti-Communist Law', are arresting, imprisoning and mur-

dering him brutally. The reactionary south Korean rulers are repressing numerous religious people and even the former south Korean 'President' Yun Bo Son on the charge of the violation of the 'Anti-Communist Law'." Enumerating their repressive acts, doubling up his fingers one after another, the President continued: "How can we meet the south Korean authorities and hold a dialogue when they are repressing the patriotic democrats, youth and students so harshly?" His tone was stern when he remarked: "The present south Korean authorities do not understand our intentions, because they have no policy, think nothing of the nation and humanity, and have no logic." I could hardly repress my emotion picturing in my mind the faces of Mr. Kim Dae Jung and other friends of mine subjected to suppression in the south, when the President said impressively: "A dialogue is tenable when each party's intentions are understood, so how can a dialogue be held when we are not understood?"

Secondly, it is the tough stand towards the question of the withdrawal of US troops from south Korea.

Evacuation of the US troops is the consistent demand of the north and, at the same time, is a principle of reunification "without reliance upon outside force or its interference," which is clarified in the July 4 Joint Statement. I think it will make no compromise in respects of conclusion of a peace agreement with the United States and the withdrawal of the US troops.

President Kim Il Sung proposed to reduce the number of armed forces of the north and the south drastically to 100,000 or less respectively following the withdrawal of the US troops. There may be a few methods according to circumstances in making US troops withdraw or furnishing security after their evacuation. In my opinion there is no need of thinking that there is the only set method. But I think the north is invariably keeping its stand in such fundamental questions as the withdrawal of US troops and the repudiation of outside force. Of course, as we know, the regime in the south is against the withdrawal of the US troops.

Whether the presence of the US troops ensures peace in

Korea today or, on the contrary, constitutes a cause of constant tension—this problem requires a full consideration, apart from the fixed idea. Judging from the general opinion now current in Japan, they seem to consider the presence of the US troops in Korea to be a good thing from the start and have no proper understanding of the politico-military purpose of the US troops stationed in south Korea. In particular, little consideration is given to how north Korea in frontal confrontation with the US troops with the Military Demarcation Line inbetween will think of this problem. But any criticism or conception ignoring the views of both parties concerned (leaving aside which side is in the right or wrong) is unreal from the very outset.

The Government and people of north Korea must have regarded the US troops in south Korea as an intolerable foreign force and the repeated large-scale US-ROK joint military exercises as an undoubtful challenge to the north. If we put ourselves into their place, we will see they are fully justified to do so.

And the US army keeps staying as part of US Asian strategy for usurping the right to national self-determination, instead of recognizing it. The people in the north, who have pushed the Korean revolution to stand on their own feet after freeing themselves from Japanese colonial rule, will never permit the US troops to squat in Korea. When the Vietnamese nation won self-determination the people in north Korea might have renewed their resolution to attain their self-determination while the Pak regime was advocating the possibility of the "southward invasion from the north." It is different from the question of whether there may be the likelihood of "southward invasion" or not, whether the north seeks it or not. Besides, the UN General Assembly held last year destroyed the ground maintained long by the United States to keep its troops in south Korea. This notwithstanding, the United States does not take any diplomatic posture applicable to this change. In the past it had continued to rail at north Korea in the name of the "UN". Today the United States has become unable to put up the "UN" signboard. But, it still engages in military action.

Having been kicked out of Vietnam, it concentrated its armed force in the vicinity of Korea. Probably north Korea will regard this fact as an offensive act, as an insincere act at best.

What is more, the United States has gone so far as to threaten the north with nuclear attack. How will the people in the north accept it? We should imagine all this in their place.

Needless to say, I don't mean to discriminate between right and wrong about the argument of the north.

However, without a correct understanding of the historical circumstances of the Korean question it will be hardly possible to get a clue to the problem of how the north appraises the present situation. In this respect, I am compelled to say that the Japanese public opinion and government unusually view it unrealistically or take an irresponsible posture.

The former would stir when the democratic forces of south Korea fight sacrificially and the latter would manifest their displeasure at the excessive suppression of the Pak regime. But when it comes to the problem of the north and the south, both consider the present Korean situation as a matter of course. When the north Korean side takes up a principled position under the present situation they are disposed to take it for a cause of tension. Yet they show no reaction at all to the operation of the Japanese-US security system. Such an affirmative approach to the present situation proves that we are being entangled into the Japan-US security system. If we talk about the Korean question without reflecting on this point we will look very self-complacent in the eyes of the outsiders. North Korea and the United States have been restrained from hostilities by the Armistice Agreement since the Korean war and peace in Korea is tentative in every respect. North Korea, therefore, proposes the United States to conclude a peace treaty.

Internationally Japan has concluded the Japan-ROK treaty which recognizes south Korea as the sole, legitimate government in Korea and, on the other hand, is under the Japan-US security system that allows free military action to the US army. This position of Japan is very hostile to north Korea. In case

there is unfortunately a military clash on the Military Demarcation Line, within a short distance of two hours from Japan, Japan would automatically join the Pak regime and the United States. One should not forget this. When all this is taken into account, the present posture of the government is too dangerous and irresponsible, and the public opinion likewise is too spineless and optimistic.

What can be pointed out, thirdly, in connection with the posture of north Korea is that it is invariably following the policy of categorically rejecting the permanent fixation of the north-south division, that is, "two Koreas."

Therefore, north Korea asserts that it cannot accept from its principled stand the "simultaneous entry of the north and the south" into the UN, which means approving two states.

Moreover, there is a view that peace in Korea can be ensured by means of cross recognition—recognition of south Korea by China and the Soviet Union and north Korea by Japan and the United States. Some Japanese scholars and critics hold that this is a realistic and effective proposal. The north Korean side, however, maintains that this idea based on the premise of "two Koreas" is not worthy of examination under the present condition.

Fourthly, I can refer to the strengthening of international solidarity.

It is a well-known fact that north Korea is very active in strengthening its international solidarity with the third world and the non-aligned countries, and is gaining successes. It scored brilliant results at the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the non-aligned countries held in Lima last year and at the subsequent UN General Assembly session in autumn. South Korea wished to attend the former. But the conference rejected it while admitting north Korea. And the demand of north Korea was adopted for the first time at the UN General Assembly.

In 1975 President Kim Il Sung visited China and other countries. There were various conjectures as to his visits probably because of his speech made in Peking. But I was interest-

ed in his choice of such countries as China, Algeria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc. which are all taking their own courses. It appears he was given a great welcome in all these countries. I had an opportunity to see documentaries on his visit to each country. Particularly impressive was the image of aged President Tito welcoming him. I was also strongly touched by the fact that in each visiting country a communique was made public, which unanimously stressed the need to cement international solidarity while criticizing the domination of great Powers.

Such active diplomatic activity, I think, is not intended merely to win approval ballots for north Korea at the UN and other places but based on a new prospect for Korea's reunification—to link up the independence of the Korean nation with the current of the international anti-imperialist struggle and achieve Korea's independence and reunification in this current. At the time when the July 4 Joint Statement was issued the north directly dealt with the Pak regime, irrespective of the situation. But judging from the developments since then, I think it tries to open up a new avenue from a more principled and international standpoint.

In this connection, I would like to give only two things that deeply impressed me in Pyongyang. One is that everyone expressed his strong desire for reunification. During my 15-day sojourn I inspected factories, farms, schools, Art Gallery and many other places. The people I met there never failed to say at the end of their explanation about their work and future plan: "We are eager for reunification." It struck at my heart with stronger feeling than I had when I visited in 1972. At the root of their voices lie the July 4 Joint Statement and ensuing developments, I suppose. Another one is that in Pyongyang, too, there was a conspicuous sign of international interchange, vigorous intercourse with the third world and non-aligned countries in particular. In Pyongyang there is a quarter where are located the buildings of foreign embassies or diplomatic and consular offices. I had a chance to go there

to find new buildings under construction here and there. Their construction failed to keep up with the need as diplomatic relations were established and ambassadors exchanged in succession. The swell of foreign guests in north Korea seems to have drastically increased chances for north Koreans to travel to Europe, the third world and other foreign lands. Under such circumstances, the understanding of the international affairs on the part of north Korea is gradually developing, I should say.

6. "PEACE" AND "REUNIFICATION"

In the above chapters I have mentioned what I particularly felt about the situations and postures of north and south Korea following the July 4 Joint Statement. But I want to say more about the reunification question.

1) When I visited Pyongyang in the autumn of 1972 I had an opportunity of having an audience of President Kim Il Sung for seven hours and more. In March this year, too, I was received there by him for more than four hours. What was remarkable in that 4-hour reception by comparison with the previous one was the fact that the conversation ran chiefly on the question of reunification and Japan-Korea relationship. Particularly I was strongly impressed by his remarks on two points.

One is that he expressed his emphatic disapproval with regard to nuclear weapons. Of course, it was not the first time that President Kim Il Sung disapproved nuclear armament or development. He reiterated it. It has become clear that a large number of nuclear warheads have been deployed in south Korea. The United States browbeats the north, saying it would not mind making a nuclear attack in the present state of north-south tension. On the other hand, the Pak regime takes

an active posture for undertaking nuclear development on its own. Even in this new reality President Kim Il Sung said: **"We have no intention of arming ourselves with nuclear weapons."** More, asked by me if he thinks nuclear weapons may exercise restraints on war, he wholly denied it and made clear his stand that he would not beg for a nuclear umbrella. This is of great significance, I think. The Japanese are the only people who experienced appalling disasters from nuclear weapons. As a Japanese, I appreciated President Kim Il Sung's remark with respect.

The other one is more impressive and still remains in my mind. It is a quiet remark President Kim Il Sung made, leaning towards me: **"...it seems that question of Korea's reunification will be solved through a hard-fought struggle."**

I did not ask what he meant by it. Quiet as it was, his remark sounded strong and touched my heart, bringing home to me the meaning of national independence.

2) What is the independence of a nation? In this connection, I should like to bring out an important question of which I have no definite conception. It is the question of how to maintain peace in parallel with national liberation or independence. As far as the Korean question is concerned, it is a question of how to attain peace and reunification simultaneously without any contradiction.

Repeatedly speaking, since the spring of last year the Pak regime, while studying the developments in Vietnam, has claimed that the possibility of north Korea's aggression on the south is an imminent reality. It calls for drawing a lesson from the Vietnamese situation, saying that Vietnam has achieved national reunification, after all, through her socialization by the north. Availing itself of this, the Pak regime makes it an excuse for intensifying repression at home on the one hand and, on the other, intends to still the ever-growing anti-Pak sentiments in the United States and regroup the Korean lobbyists in Japan. But a panic started by the "real possibility of southward aggression" seemed to be short-lived. In

his interview carried in *Sankei Shimbun* in May this year Pak Jung Hi said: "It was one year ago when Indochina was communized that the tension became aggravated to the extreme on the Korean Peninsula. As compared with that time, the situation has now been relatively stabilized, but it is temporary, and it is possible because of the strong unity of the south Korean people and the determination of the US and south Korean governments to stand up against invasion."

But from an objective point of view, at present there is nothing at all to substantiate this word of Pak Jung Hi.

Though words go round that the south Korean situation has been relatively stabilized now as compared with the spring of last year, many doubts arose from that time within the US Government, too, in regard to the possibility of "southward aggression" from the north. Therefore, the argument on a comparative stabilization of the situation by the "strong unity of the south Korean people" is nothing but a justification of Pak Jung Hi type, and the "unity of the south Korean people" just means the strengthening of repression at home. To be exact, no proof has been given of the existence of a "crisis" as the Pak regime claimed but it is a fact that there was a "tension." That tension, I think, was created by the Pak regime itself.

As we clearly see by tracing the footprints left by it over the past fifteen years, the Pak regime is a power which came into being pursuant to the US cold war policy and laid its foundation with that policy as a lever, and a power which has invariably maintained cold war speculation.

The possibility of "southward invasion" is a fiction deliberately made by the Pak regime to keep such cold war speculation or a fear of its own shadow entertained by it taking strong measures in the cold war speculation. Either of the two is the cause, I think.

As many people might have read already, a book entitled "The Best and the Brightest" written by David Harvastam, a journalist who had worked as a special correspondent of the

New York Times in Vietnam has recently been translated and published. Its main content is: How did Kennedy Administration which, as a most intelligent regime formed with the supra-elite of the United States, had raised hopes among the people come to unjustly intervene in the self-determination of the Vietnamese nation? Why was it that during Johnson Administration that intervention fell deep into the mire and rendered it impossible even to make an "honourable withdrawal"? How seriously was the intellect of the United States crippled in that process? I read this book with interest. Mr. Harvastam provides quite a different lesson on Vietnam from that drawn by Pak Jung Hi.

President Kennedy and his entourage failed to comprehend the self-determination of the Vietnamese nation, but felt much hesitation in meddling in it following the blunder of France. Nevertheless, they fell in mud after all. As for the reason Mr. Harvastam referred to these points: Firstly the cold war advocates headed by Dulles had gained great influence over all the Government's organs and this led them to try to prevent the Communization of South Vietnam on "domino" theory. Secondly, Kennedy and many others had no accurate knowledge of the corrupt structure of the South Vietnamese regime. Thirdly, this wrong judgment—this calls for special attention—was ascribable to the purge of progressive-minded persons who had or could have a correct knowledge about China, Vietnam and Asia, in the frenzied "Red-hunting" made in the past according to McCarthyism. So, the United States could not but sink in the bog by intervening in the Vietnam war, and suffered serious setbacks in return. It was just at the time when the US blunder had been completely proved in Vietnam that the Pak regime began to rearm itself with the cold war idea, starting the panic, "The north invades." This must have thrown a dark shadow over the nationalism of the south Korean people, I should say.

What should be mentioned in this connection is that in Japan, too, there are people who consider the "threat of south-

ward aggression" on the Pak regime's lips to be realistic. They are in fact those who had tailed after or had close relations with the US cold war policy before, and accordingly, are little different from the people who approved and protected policies of the American and Japanese governments during the Vietnamese war, regarding them as realistic. I think this is an interesting problem. The journalists and critics sharing such views are those who supported the cold war policy, alleging that a realistic guarantee of peace is the balance of forces, and who have sneered at the moves for Korea's reunification and peaceful coexistence in Asia as fantastic. When the issue of self-determination in Vietnam was solved in the form of socialization, they described it as a socialist aggression, not as a nation's self-determination. Now applying it to Korea, they are intending to replace it with the "danger of southward invasion." This, however, will only lead to repeating the failure of the United States as Mr. Harvastam pointed out with concrete facts.

3) Needless to say, Korea did not choose the road of north-south division on her own from the outset. Division was caused and forced upon by the US cold war policy. In the course of change in the global cold war system the Pak regime has intensified its cold war policy. I think, therefore, it is wrong to identify the Pak regime's cold war policy with the US one.

It is not only the Pak regime and its followers that harbour distrust of north Korea. Also doubtful of the north are the intellectuals, Christians and politicians who want more than anyone else to see the fall of the Pak regime, waging a struggle for the democratization of south Korea at the risk of their lives. In case the Pak regime is compelled to step down for its repressive rule and its blockade of democratic development, it will entail inevitably a social chaos or possibly a counterrevolutionary military coup against democracy. In such case, will the north only sit back with folded arms?

To this question President Kim Il Sung gave very clear-

cut answers. In his talks with Utsunomiya Tokuma held last year and in the year before last he repeatedly said the north had no intention of interference. This time I, too, asked it again. I felt it rude to bother him with the same question. But the President replied:

"We have no intention to impose socialism on south Korea; and we have no plan to do so. In dealing with any question we are consistent in our opposition to subjectivism. Subjectivism is incompatible with the principle of socialism and communism."

"Let the south Korean people themselves choose the road to take."

Korea's reunification, therefore, is not an easy task. The love of the Koreans for their nation has become more fervent and stronger than that of any other nations, for it was formed under Japanese colonial domination and amidst the anti-Japanese struggle under it. Moreover, due to the artificial division of the country, most of the Koreans are living in sorrow with their families separated from one another. In every respect, only when the country's reunification is achieved, can it be said that the Korean nation has won independence. On the other hand, having gone through a fratricidal war caused by the cold war policy, they still have hatred for and fear of it. Nevertheless, the Pak regime is intensifying its cold war policy.

The north is thoroughly being socialized, while the south is trying to build a capitalist economy of Japanese type at any cost. Under these circumstances, how should great national unity be attained and through what course? Won't the changes in the south involve a crisis of war? Will peace in Korea be compatible with her independence, that is, her reunification? I think this is by no means an easy question to tackle. That is why I look with hope to the Government of the DPRK and the democratic forces of south Korea.

However, here is one basic point we should bear in mind. It is that we must strictly distinguish two questions—the

questions of whether or not there is a danger of war in Korea and of what social system will be set up all over Korea.

Another war in Korea should be prevented in all events and its danger cannot be observed with folded arms. But the question of a political system or a state system to be established in Korea is, needless to say, an internal affair of the Korean nation itself. It will be chosen by the south Korean people, and it is related to the ability and validity of the socialist system of north Korea. It is a question to be settled by the Korean nation itself, no matter whatever course it may follow; none of the others including the Japanese can meddle in it. As a Japanese I understand the purport of the July 4 Joint Statement in this light.

How should we treat the two problems—the problem of the maintenance of peace and the problem of national liberation or independence? This is a most serious question facing the world's order after World War II as can be seen in various parts of the world including the third world. If the Korean nation can find an excellent and realistic answer to these great questions—the independence and reunification of a nation and the preservation of peace—it means it will be the first to create a new world. Accordingly, what attitude Japan and her people take toward the Korean question represents what responsibility they discharge for the Korean nation and, at the same time, how much they strive to fulfil the general task facing the world. If we do not improve our present attitude toward the Korean issue even while mentioning the importance of the north-south question and the interchange with the third world, it will only expose our ignorance or our wild desire for acquisition of the resources of the third world.

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KOREA'S REUNIFICATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW



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KOREAN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights effective as of January 3, 1976 provides in Article One: "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

This is generally known as the right to self-determination,

which is explicitly stipulated in the December 14, 1960 Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonies and Nations (the so-called declaration on granting independence to colonies) and in the October 24, 1970 Declaration on the Principles of the International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (the so-called declaration on friendly relations).

The declaration on granting independence to colonies reads in part:

Convinced that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory,

Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing a speedy and unconditional end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations;

And to this end

Declares that:

1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

...

6. Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, noninterference in the internal affairs of

all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

The next year the 16th UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on forming a special executive committee for the enforcement of the declaration on granting independence to colonies (1654 (XVI)), and the 25th UN General Assembly adopted an action programme for the complete enforcement of this declaration (2621 (XXV)).

The 25th UN General Assembly also adopted the Declaration on the Principles of the International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the UN Charter (2625 (XXV)), which reads in part:

By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, all peoples have the right freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and every State has the duty to respect their right in accordance with the provisions of the Charter....

...bearing in mind that subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a violation of the principle, as well as a denial of fundamental human rights, and is contrary to the Charter, every State is duty bound to help the United Nations in performing its responsibility entrusted by the Charter in connection with the principle.

Every State has the duty to promote through joint and separate action universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Charter.

The establishment of a sovereign and independent State, the free association or integration with an independent State or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people constitute mode of implementing the right of self-determination by that people.

The Korean people are a homogeneous nation which lived harmoniously on the same land through ages with one and the same language, culture and customs. It is beyond question that their national reunification is their common aspiration which not only accords with their will based on self-determination but also with the principles of the international law.

QUICKENING OF KOREAN PEOPLE'S MOVES FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SETBACKS

But in reality, Korea remains divided into the north and the south with the 38th parallel as a demarcation already for over thirty years from 1945, causing a national tragedy. On July 4, 1972 the signal North-South Joint Statement based on the three principles of independence, peace and great national unity was issued to make one believe that things were following the line of realizing the hope of the Korean people. But the subsequent developments do not warrant optimism. Korea's division was no fatal inevitability from the start.

Let us first see how Korea was kept from her development and split into the north and the south.

Since annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910 the Korean Peninsula was put under Japanese colonial rule. World War II broke out in 1939 and then the Pacific War in 1941. The "Axis powers" held the lead in the initial stage, but the war situation gradually turned in favour of the Allies and the defeat of the German troops at Stalingrad in February 1943 betokened the prospect of victory for the Allies.

At the meeting of political and military cadres of the Korean People's Revolutionary Army held in Tungkiang, northeast China on May 1, 1936, on the initiative of General Kim Il Sung, the Association for the Restoration of the Father-

land was formed as a permanent organization of the anti-Japanese national united front and on May 5 its Rules and Inaugural Declaration were adopted. Its Ten-Point Programme served as the basis for policies effected in north Korea after liberation following Japan's surrender.

Here is the full text of the Programme.

**TEN-POINT PROGRAMME OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE
RESTORATION OF FATHERLAND (MAY 5, 1936)**

1. To mobilize the entire Korean nation and realize a broad-based anti-Japanese united front in order to overthrow the piratical Japanese imperialist rule and establish a genuine people's government in Korea;

2. To defeat Japan and overthrow its puppet state "Manchukuo" by the Koreans resident in Manchuria through a close alliance between the Korean and Chinese people, and to effect full autonomy for the Korean people residing in Chinese territory;

3. To disarm the Japanese armed forces, gendarmes, police and their agents and organize a revolutionary army truly fighting for the independence of Korea;

4. To confiscate all enterprises, railways, banks, shipping, farms and irrigation systems owned by Japan and Japanese and all property and estates owned by pro-Japanese traitors, to raise funds for the independence movement, and to use part of these funds for the relief of the poor;

5. To cancel all loans made to people by Japan and its agents and abolish all taxes and monopoly systems; to improve the living conditions of the masses and promote the smooth development of national industries, agriculture and commerce;

6. To win the freedom of the press, publications, assembly and association, oppose terrorist rule and the fostering of feudal ideas by the Japanese imperialists, and to release all political prisoners;

7. To abolish the caste system which divides the *ryangban*

(nobles) and the common people, and other inequalities; to ensure equality based on humanity irrespective of sex, nationality or religion; to improve the social position of women and respect their personalities;

8. To abolish slave labour and slavish education; to oppose forced military service and military training of young people; to educate people in our national language, and to enforce free compulsory education;

9. To enforce an eight-hour day, improve working conditions and raise wages; to formulate labour laws; to enforce state insurance laws for the workers, and to extend state relief to the unemployed;

10. To form a close alliance with nations and states which treat the Koreans as equals and to maintain comradely relations of friendship with states and nations which express goodwill and maintain neutrality toward our national liberation movement.

The year after liberation on behalf of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea Chairman Kim Il Sung, basing himself on the Ten-Point Programme, made public the Twenty-Point Platform containing more realistic policies as the programme of a unified provisional government to be set up in the future.

TWENTY-POINT PLATFORM (MARCH 23, 1946)

1. To thoroughly liquidate all the remnants of Japanese imperialist rule from the political and economic life of Korea;

2. To wage an implacable struggle against reactionary and anti-democratic elements at home and strictly ban the activities of fascist, anti-democratic political parties, organizations and individuals;

3. To grant the entire people freedom of speech, the press, assembly and religion. To provide conditions for free activities to democratic political parties, trade unions, peasants' associations and other democratic social organizations;

4. To see to it that the entire Korean people have the right and duty to form people's committees—the administrative organs responsible for all local affairs—through universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot;

5. To grant equal rights to all citizens in political and economic life, irrespective of sex, religion or property status;

6. To assert the inviolability of persons and their residence and protect by law the property of citizens and their private possessions;

7. To abolish all laws and judicial organs which were in operation during the rule of Japanese imperialism and still retain its aftereffects, elect the people's judicial organs on democratic principles and grant the citizens at large equal legal rights;

8. To develop industry, agriculture, transport and trade for the enhancement of the people's welfare;

9. To nationalize big enterprises, transport services, banks, mines and forests;

10. To allow and encourage free activity in private handicrafts and trade;

11. To confiscate the land belonging to Japanese, the Japanese state, the traitors, and landlords who continue to rent out their land; abolish the tenant system and distribute among the peasants, free of charge, all the confiscated land, making it their property. To confiscate without compensation all irrigation facilities and place them under state control;

12. To fix market prices for living necessities to combat speculators and usurers;

13. To institute a system of uniform, equitable taxation and introduce a progressive income-tax system;

14. To introduce an eight-hour working day for factory and office workers and fix minimum wages for them. To pro-

hibit employment of children under 13 years of age and institute a six-hour working day for children of 13 to 16;

15. To institute life insurance for factory and office workers and set up an insurance system for workers and enterprises;

16. To introduce a system of universal compulsory education and widely increase primary, secondary and specialized schools and colleges to be run by the state. To reform the system of public education in line with the democratic state system;

17. To actively develop national culture, science and the arts, and increase the number of theatres, libraries, radio broadcasting stations and cinema houses;

18. To set up special schools on a wide scale for training the personnel required in state organs and in all fields of the national economy;

19. To encourage scientists and artists in their work and give them assistance; and

20. To increase the number of state-run hospitals, stamp out epidemics and provide free medical care to the poor.

In south Korea too, people's committees were formed in different parts after liberation. Yet, it seems that they failed to have close contacts with each other and develop into a unified organization.

However, if the victor Allied Powers, the authorities of the US troops occupying south Korea in particular, had shown favour and supported and helped the Korean people in exercising their free will and right to self-determination, it might have been possible to prevent the tragedy of the north-south split of Korea as we see now.

FIRST STEP TOWARD THE NORTH-SOUTH SPLIT

On September 7, 1945, General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the US Army Forces, Pacific, announced in Yokohama that the US army landing at Inchon would be invested with all powers of government and rule over south Korea and that any person resisting the US military government should suffer death.

The following proclamation explicitly shows the US attitude towards the Korean people.

G.H.Q. US ARMY FORCES, PACIFIC

PROCLAMATION NO. 1

To the People of Korea:

As Commander-in-Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, I do hereby proclaim as follows:

The victor army under my command today occupies the territory of Korea south of the 38 degrees north latitude as provided in the Instrument of Surrender signed by order and on behalf of the Emperor of Japan and the Japanese government and by order and on behalf of the General Headquarters of Empire of Japan.

Considering the protracted enslavement of the Korean people and their resolute will to have Korea liberated and their independence won in the near future, I ensure that the occupation is aimed to execute the Instrument of Surrender and defend the personal and religious rights of the Korean people. To this end, positive help and submission are required of you.

On the supreme authority of the US Army Forces, Pacific, entrusted to me, I enforce military control over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof. I hereby proclaim the provisions of occupation as follows:

Article I. All powers of government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority.

....

Article III. Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely.

Article IV. Your property rights will be respected. You will pursue your normal occupations, except as I shall otherwise order.

....

Article VI. Further proclamations, ordinances, regulations, notices, directives and enactments will be issued by me or under my authority, and will specify what is required of you.

Given under my hand at Yokohama

This Seventh Day of September 1945

Douglas MacArthur

General of the Army of the United States, C-in-C,
US Army Forces, Pacific

It offered a striking contrast with the proclamation issued by the commander of the Soviet forces on the day of their entry into north Korea, which runs in part: "To the Korean people! Korea has become a country of freedom.... Remember you have your future happiness in your own hands. You have attained liberty and independence. Now everything is up to you."

General order No. 1 of the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers issued on September 2, 1945 stipulated: As provided in the Instrument of Surrender,...

b) leading officers and all the land, sea and air forces and reserves of Japan in Manchuria, Korea north of 38 degrees north latitude, Saghalien, and Kurile Islands are to surrender to the supreme commander of the Soviet Far East Army,...

e) leading officers of the Imperial headquarters and all the land, sea and air forces and reserves in the mainland of Japan, islands around it, Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude, the Loochoo Islands and the Philippines are to surrender to the supreme commander of the US Army Forces, Pacific. Thus, the United States had the right to enter Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude. However, the entry of the Allied Forces was originally aimed to disarm the Japanese troops there, and there was no justifiable reason for their prolonged stay in Korea.

It stands to reason that if the Allied Forces had been a "liberator army", they should have pulled out of Korea quickly after disarming the Japanese troops, leaving everything to the disposition of the Korean people. But the reverse was the case.

On September 8, 1945 the US 24th Corps under the command of Lieutenant General Hodges landed at Inchon from Okinawa.

He ignored Ryo Un Hyong, chairman of the steering committee for independence of Korea, and Paek Sang Gyu who carried with them a letter of welcome.

Upon the directive of MacArthur he disarmed 120,000 Japanese troops in Korea, but retained Japanese officials of the former Government-General in Korea and used Japanese ruling setup as it was.

Hodges declared: "I use Japanese ruling setup because it is now the most effective."

While putting up the sign "US Military Government in Korea" on the building of the Government-General in Korea on September 11 following its entry into Seoul, the US Army left

the former setup and staff untouched.

The US military government ordinance No. 21 issued in November said that all the former laws and the ordinances, regulations, orders, notices and other documents which had been issued by the former Government-General in Korea and effective as of August 9, 1945, would remain in force unless they were cancelled by a special order of the military government.

SYNGMAN RHEE ENTERS THE SCENE

On October 16, 1945 Syngman Rhee, "Korean champion of liberty," arrived at Seoul from the United States. Leaving the United States by military plane under the assumed name "Mr. Black", he stopped over at Tokyo where he was welcomed by MacArthur and then resumed his journey to Seoul by a US airplane. On his arrival he was shown into a room of the Korea Hotel, next door to Hodges's, which had been booked by the latter and took a rest there. His biographer Richard C. Allen wrote that his aim was to "maintain his position and augment his power" and, to this end, was "ready to resort to every available means". Upon his arrival at Seoul he raised a wave of anti-Soviet propaganda, prattling that the Korean people "ought to cooperate with the US government and the occupation army". David W. Conde described the then situation: "Rhee and his wife were carried by an American-made car to a gorgeous mansion in Seoul city offered by a Korean millionaire, former pro-Japanese collaborator. They were guarded there by the US troops and heavily armed police round the clock."

Syngman Rhee was the very political leader of Korea on whom the United States pinned its hope. The Korean people had to obey Rhee and their will meant nothing. This marked the

beginning of twists and turns in the way of Korea's reunification.

One week after his arrival Rhee formed the "Central Council for Rapid Realisation of Korean Independence", a pro-American political organization, with men of so-called Right groupings belonging to the "Korean Democratic Party" rigged up by Kim Song Su, Chang Myon and others who were on the pro-American advisory council.

In his book titled "US Military Government in Korea" Mead wrote: "Americans suppressed the People's Republic and joined hands with a handful of groupings, which disappointed the Korean people and made an enemy of them."

There is no doubt that if the US troops had withdrawn after disarming the Japanese troops in Korea, leaving the choice of the future political regime to the free will of the Korean people, respecting their right to self-determination, and if there had been no US "puppet" who was only concerned about his position and expansion of his power, there would have been no tragic north-south division for the Korean people and Korea would have surely entered the international arena as a peace-loving unified nation long ago.

UN COMMISSION ON KOREA

The USSR-US Joint Commission which met on March 2, 1946 in Seoul looked somewhat hopeful at first. An agreement was reached there on a few points between US delegate Major General Arnold and Soviet delegate General Shtikov. However, when it discussed the problem of establishing a provisional government, the Soviet side insisted on excluding representatives of the organisations opposed to the decision of the Moscow Three Foreign Ministers Conference. In its counter-proposal the United States insisted on including 17 Right-wing

political party representatives and three democratic organisation representatives. It excluded representatives of such mass organizations as the National Federation of Korean Trade Unions with membership of 600,000, (Democratic) Women's Union of Korea with membership of 800,000, (Democratic Patriotic) Youth League of Korea with membership of 660,000, and National Federal Peasants Union representing over three million peasants.

The United States had no faith in the Korean people, and most Koreans did not support the US policy towards Korea. The US occupation army authorities were therefore aware that if the United States had acted fair and followed the will of majority of the Koreans in a democratic way it would have come off a loser. The US plan and policy for "making Korea a pro-American free state, not a pro-Soviet communist one," got the upper hand of the Korean people's will, "national self-determination" about which the US had so much talked.

In north Korea, President Kim Il Sung made public the Twenty-Point Platform reflecting the Korean people's long-cherished aspiration for reunification, on March 23, 1946, responding to the meeting of the Joint Commission.

By the demand of the US delegation the meeting of the Joint Commission went into recess on May 6, 1946 even without fixing the date for the next meeting. The Joint Commission resumed its work on May 21 the next year after one year's interval, but both sides stuck to their respective line. On October 9, 1947 it broke up with the proclamation on March 12 of the Truman doctrine allegedly aimed to "bottle up" communism, the intensified suppression of the democratic organizations and progressive forces in south Korea, and so on.

American delegate to the UN John Foster Dulles brought the Korean question to the UN General Assembly as if he had been awaiting that breakup with impatience. It stemmed from the US scheme to settle the Korean question in its favour at that time with the backing of its satellite countries comprising the majority in the UN General Assembly.

To be more precise, the US insisted on the establishment of a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea to supervise the election to be held before March 31, 1948. Besides, it proposed to deal with the Korean question in the "Little Assembly", a nose of wax in its hands. Meanwhile, Soviet delegate Gromyko insisted that the Korean question was a question to be settled by the victor Allied Powers after the war as provided in Article 107 of the UN Charter, that the UN's interference in the election in Korea would contradict the Moscow decision envisaging the establishment of a government in Korea by the USSR-US Joint Commission, and that the debate of the Korean question in the Little Assembly was illegal because it was designed to evade the veto of the permanent members of the Security Council.

At its second session held on November 14, 1947 the UN General Assembly pointed out that the Korean question "is primarily a matter of the Korean people themselves and concerns their freedom and independence" and demanded that "representatives of the Korean people be invited to take part in the consideration of the question." Then it decided to set up a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea designed ostensibly for supervision and consultation to elect proper representatives of the Korean people (Resolution 112 (II)).

On the basis of the report presented by chairman of the UN Commission, the Little Assembly (interim committee) decided on February 16, 1948 to hold an election for a Korean government in the regions accessible to the Commission (UN document 5831 A). The General Assembly resolution was on a general election throughout Korea under UN supervision and the establishment of a unified government, but the Little Assembly amended this resolution and took such illegal measures as to hold separate elections and establish a separate government in south Korea, thereby perpetuating the division of Korea. It met with disapproval from Canada and Australia as well.

The Soviet Union rejected the resolution of the Little Assembly and banned entry of the Commission members into the

areas north of the 38th parallel under its control on the ground that representatives of the Korean people were not allowed to attend the discussion at the Assembly.

At its 25th session held on February 20 of the same year the Central Committee of the Democratic National United Front of North Korea, opposing the establishment of a separate south Korean government by the US imperialists, appealed to the entire Korean people to demand, first, the general election throughout Korea after the withdrawal of foreign troops, secondly, election of a People's Assembly based on universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot, thirdly, adoption of constitution and setting up of a democratic government by the People's Assembly.

The proposed members of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea were Australia, Canada, China, El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines, Syria and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. However, the last refused to join it, asserting that the election proceedings were illegal and that the Commission should consist of neutral nations.

Among them, neutral nations were India and Syria and the rest were satellite countries of the United States.

Meanwhile, the Joint Conference of Representatives of the North and South Korean Political Parties and Social Organizations was held in Pyongyang between April 20 and 23, 1948. It was attended by representatives from 56 political parties and social organizations.

The conference heard reports on the political situation in north and south Korea, and adopted the following resolution.

RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KOREA

We representatives of political parties and social organizations of both south and north Korea have met for the first

time since our country was liberated from Japanese imperialist rule, and heard and discussed reports on the current political situation in our country, and we note the fact that our country is still divided into the north and the south because of the temporary demarcation line at the 38th parallel for the entry of both Soviet and US armies.

With the rupture of the work of the USSR-US Joint Commission and wreckage of reunification of the country because of the US delegates and reactionary elements in south Korea, the US government illegally took the question of Korea to the UN General Assembly without the presence of the representatives of the Korean people in disregard of their will.

Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Korean people resolutely reject the so-called "UN Commission on Korea" itself and its activity, the US government has used the "Little Assembly of the United Nations" to hold separate elections in south Korea to establish a so-called "National Government" which in substance is bound to be a puppet regime. By this plan, the United States intends to separate south Korea from our country for ever and turn it into their colony. At present we are faced with the most critical moment in our history with such quislings as Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su rampantly active in south Korea and supporting the American reactionary policy of dividing our country and bringing it under their domination. We brand them as traitors and resolutely denounce all those who yield to and cooperate with them.

Because of their anti-national, traitorous machinations, the south Korean people have been unable to obtain the elementary democratic rights and have no hope nor any condition for better life. We recognize that in north Korea where the Soviet army entered and afforded the people wide freedom of creation the people have consolidated their People's Committees, enforced democratic reforms and achieved great success in creating the basis of an independent national economy, reviving national culture and consolidating all foundations for dev-

eloping our country into a democratic, independent sovereign state.

We are in firm opposition to the US imperialist policy of colonial enslavement and to the insidious traitorous schemes of its accomplices—the quislings and pro-Japanese. The north and south Korean people rose up against the separate election show by the so-called “UN Commission on Korea”. We regard this resistance as a just patriotic save-the-nation struggle for the sovereignty and independence of the country.

In order to prevent the split of the country and domination of the south Korean people by the US imperialists, we, both south and north Korean political parties and social organizations should pool our forces so that we can further develop a movement throughout the country to frustrate the separate elections in south Korea and to support the Soviet proposal on granting the Korean people the right to establish a unified democratic independent country by themselves by having foreign troops withdrawn from Korea without delay. To this end we will exert all our efforts.

APRIL 23, 1948

JOINT CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTH
AND SOUTH KOREAN POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL
ORGANIZATIONS IN PYONGYANG

Reflecting the will of the entire Korean people, this conference sent a written request to both the Soviet and US governments demanding them to oppose the separate elections in south Korea, simultaneously withdraw their troops from Korea and thus enable the Korean people to found a unified democratic state by holding elections independently throughout the country.

Despite the vehement opposition and great hope voiced by the joint conference, elections were held in south Korea on

May 10, 1948 under the supervision of the UN Temporary Commission on Korea. As prearranged, a "Republic of Korea" was rigged up on August 15 with Syngman Rhee as president.

A UP despatch describes the elections as follows: "Police-men, assisted by American MPs, placed a cordon to block virtually all the main roads in south Korea. Several truckloads of black-clad cops with carbines drive along the streets. Sentry bearing a carbine with fixed bayonet is placed some 50 steps away from polling booths."

To counter the above-mentioned elections in south Korea, general elections to the Supreme People's Assembly were held on August 25, 1948 in north and south Korea (underground in the south) and on September 2 the Supreme People's Assembly was convened at the Moranbong Theatre in Pyongyang.

On September 8 the Assembly adopted the Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and appointed General Kim Il Sung Premier.

As mentioned above, on April 23, 1948 the Joint Conference representing main political parties and social organizations in Korea demanded the immediate withdrawal of both Soviet and US troops. On September 10 the same year the Supreme People's Assembly in north Korea decided to request both governments to withdraw their troops simultaneously. On September 19 the Soviet government announced its readiness to evacuate its troops within the year and concluded their evacuation by withdrawing the command of the Soviet army from Pyongyang on December 26.

The United States, however, kept their troops in south Korea, alleging that "the United States should make south Korea rival north Korea prior to the withdrawal of its troops" (Hodges' declaration dated May 5).

KOREAN QUESTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

Since the 10th session of the UN General Assembly in 1955 the Korean question was taken up every year in the United Nations where bitter dispute was repeated between the United States and other countries that dispatched troops to Korea on the one side and on the other the Soviet Union and other countries of the communist camp. American domination in the United Nations in its early stage resulted in permission for the south Korean delegation to attend the session in the capacity of observer, maintenance of the "UNCURK" whose report served as the basis for discussion of the Korean question and adoption of the resolution claiming maintenance of the UN troops in south Korea.

As the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa won independence and their admission to the UN was sanctioned one after another, the balance of forces in the UN turned to the disadvantage of the United States and brought about a change in the debate of the Korean question and the vote on it. The 28th session of the UN General Assembly in 1973 eventually decided unanimously on dissolution of the "UNCURK."

The "UNCURK" had been incorporated with the UN troops in south Korea and its dissolution repeatedly demanded by the DPRK.

For instance, the statement of the Foreign Ministry of the DPRK dated December 11, 1954 reads: "'UNCURK' is used as a tool for the US imperialist colonial enslavement policy towards Korea and as a screen for militarization scheme of the Syngman Rhee clique hampering the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The dissolution of such 'UNCURK'

accords with the unanimous demand of the Korean people aspiring for the reunification of the country as a unified peaceable democratic state." This demand of the Korean people was eventually met. At the 29th session of the UN General Assembly in 1974 the First Committee debated on the Algerian and other countries' draft resolution demanding withdrawal of the UN troops from south Korea, which was lost by a tie vote and not presented to the General Assembly. Though the counter draft resolution sponsored by the opposite side was adopted at the First Committee and the General Assembly, it could not help but include the demand for promotion of the north-south dialogue and consideration of the dissolution of the UN Command by the Security Council.

And the 30th UN General Assembly session in 1975 adopted on November 18 the draft resolution demanding dissolution of the UN Command and withdrawal of all UN-labelled foreign troops from south Korea, which was presented by those countries standing by the DPRK.

NORTH-SOUTH JOINT STATEMENT

The north-south Red Cross talks begun in 1971 paved the way for the north-south talks which culminated in the announcement of signal north-south joint statement on July 4, 1972. The text of the statement reads in part:

1. The two sides reached an agreement on the following principles of the reunification of the country:

Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference:

Secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms a-

gainst the other side;

Thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system.

2. The two sides agreed upon refraining from slandering and calumniating the other side and from committing armed provocations, big or small, and upon taking active measures for preventing unexpected military conflicts, in order to ease the tension between the north and the south and create an atmosphere of trust.
3. The two sides agreed upon realizing many-sided interchange between the north and the south to restore the severed national ties, promote mutual understanding and accelerate independent peaceful reunification.
4. The two sides agreed upon rendering active assistance in bringing to an early success the north-south Red Cross talks now in progress amid the great expectation of the whole nation.
5. The two sides agreed upon installing permanent direct telephone links between Pyongyang and Seoul to prevent unforeseen military incidents and deal with directly, promptly and accurately the questions arising between the north and the south.
6. The two sides agreed upon forming and operating a North-South Co-ordination Committee with Director Kim Yong Ju and Director Li Hu Rak as its Co-chairmen for the purpose of promoting the implementation of these points of agreement and, at the same time, improving and settling various problems between the north and the south and solving the question of the country's reunification on the basis of the principles of national reunification agreed upon.
7. Firmly believing that the points of agreement mentioned above conform to the unanimous desire of the whole nation which aspires after national reunification so ardently, the two sides solemnly promise to the whole nation to honestly

fulfil these points of agreement.

The statement received warm welcome from the entire Korean people and the world people.

In his New Year address on January 1, 1973 President Kim Il Sung said in appreciation of the success achieved: "A great stride was also made in the struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country last year. Thanks to the persistent efforts of our Party and the Government of the Republic, a historic north-south joint statement was made public last July, the keynote being the three principles—**independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.** In accordance with the agreements in this statement the North-South Coordination Commission has been set up. ...the north-south Red Cross talks have made good progress. As a result, new bright prospects have been opened up before our people in their struggle for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country." In his works the President set forth the three principles for national reunification as follows: "...the reunification of the country must be carried out in accord with the principles of independence and democracy, and in a peaceful way, without the interference of any outside forces." And on June 23, 1973 he set forth the five-point great program for national reunification:

"to remove military confrontation and lessen tensions between north and south, to realize many-sided cooperation and interchange between north and south, to convene a Great National Congress comprising representatives of people of all strata, political parties and social organizations from the north and south, to institute a north-south Confederation under the single nomenclature of Confederal Republic of Koryo, and to enter the UN under the single nomenclature—Confederal Republic of Koryo."

Meanwhile, in south Korea contrary to the expectations of the common people, in addition to the emergency measures in force, the Pak regime declared emergency martial law on

October 17, 1972, three months after the announcement of the north-south joint statement. In this way it carried out coup d'etat called October Revitalization.

Thus they in effect established military dictatorship opposed to peaceful reunification under the pretext of creating setup favourable for it. Following the issue of the emergency martial law the Pak regime adopted on October 27 the "October Revitalization Constitution" providing presidency for the fourth term and extension of presidential powers and established the so-called fourth Republic through election of the ninth National Assembly on February 27, 1973 and that of members of National Council of Unification on March 7.

They stepped up political suppression in a big way issuing presidential emergency decrees as provided in the Revitalization Constitution one after another in addition to national security law, special laws against political offenses, anti-communist law and others.

TWO WAYS TO REUNIFICATION

In his speech at the Pyongyang mass meeting held on June 23, 1973 in welcome of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Party and Government delegation, President Kim Il Sung said: **"Adopting the double-faced tactics under the 'Nixon doctrine', the United States is not willing to desist from its manoeuvrings to instigate south Korea's bellicose elements to make Koreans fight Koreans, perpetuate the division of Korea and create two Koreas, even after the north-south joint statement was made public and the dialogue started between the two parts of Korea."**

As far back as 1945 when the United States stationed its troops in south Korea, it suppressed the aspiration of the Ko-

rean people for self-determination and tried to block the way to peaceful, independent reunification in an attempt to retain it as an anti-communist bulwark in Asia.

Following it, on June 23, 1973 the Pak regime issued the "special statement on the foreign policy of peaceful reunification" in which Pak Jung Hi virtually advocated two Koreas, proposing simultaneous entry of north and south Korea into the United Nations.

North Korea advanced a counterproposal of entering the United Nations as a single state under the name of a Confederal Republic of Koryo.

On September 19 the same year President Kim Il Sung said concerning it:

"The proposal on the simultaneous admission of 'two Koreas' to the UN lays bare the real intention of the US imperialists and some of the Japanese reactionaries who have long since schemed to perpetuate the division of Korea. In other words, it fully reveals their ambitions towards Korea.

"The proposal on the simultaneous admission of 'two Koreas' to the UN is also aimed at forestalling the discussion at the UN General Assembly on the problem of the withdrawal of US troops out of south Korea....

"Ours is fundamentally different from the case of East and West Germany....

"We have never invaded any country. Our country was a colony before and then liberated. Our neighbours do not consider that our country would invade others when reunified....

"What is most important here is that the Korean people both in the north and south do not want the division of their country. Koreans are a homogeneous nation which has a long history of a unified state. That is why they never want themselves to be divided....

"Why should our country be divided when the overwhelming majority of nations want to see Korea reunified? We have had enough suffering of national division in the last 28 years.

Why must we continue to have this suffering? We are resolutely opposed to the entry of 'two Koreas' into the UN....

"Our Confederation proposal is that a confederal state be formed, leaving the present social systems in the north and south as they are for the time being. So the main thing here is that the two sides trust each other and achieve great national unity.

"In our opinion, it is necessary first to convene a Great National Congress and settle matters concerning the country's reunification through extensive consultations....

"Our position is that the north and south must continue to promote contact and dialogue, instead of keeping the door closed. The matter depends entirely on the attitude of the south Korean authorities. We have to wait and see how they will react."

Meanwhile, Pak Jung Hi in south Korea wrote in 1973:

"The only way to bring Communists to their knees is to 'display strength' superior to theirs in politics, economy and other fields of the society.

"Concentrically expressing the idea and creed of mine and my colleagues, we set forth 'unification by prevailing over communism' as the slogan of the revolutionary government."

After all, it is evident that Pak Jung Hi qualifies north-south reunification as unification by prevailing over communism by force and the "independent, peaceful reunification" referred to in the July 4 North-South Joint Statement was a mere gesture, on his part. His goal is to prevail over communism and his one and only creed is "strength".

That is why he mercilessly cracks down on those at home who are opposed to the government.

"Reunification" move of this sort is fraught with danger of resumption of hostilities and obviously contradicts the three principles of genuine independence, peace and great national unity. It deserves attention that south Korea is placed in extremely dangerous situation both ideologically and practically.

The World Lawyers Conference in Support of Korean Peo-

ple's Struggle for Independent, Peaceful Reunification held in Damascus in October 1975 adopted a resolution demanding dissolution of the UN Command, withdrawal of the US troops using the UN flag and settlement of the Korean reunification issue to suit the national requirements of the Korean people and the desire of the peace-loving people.

INDEPENDENT, PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

The division of Korea was caused not by the will of the Korean people but by the military considerations of the Allied Powers after World War II.

Fundamentally speaking, the question of Korea is to be settled by the will of the Korean people themselves without foreign interference. It fully accords with the principles of the international law concerning the principles of national self-determination as referred to in the inception of this article. It should be settled in a peaceful way. Of course, there is another way as advocated by Pak Jung Hi, namely, reunification by force. But as the Korean hostilities showed, it claims enormous human victims and involves disaster and tragedy. Hence there is no other alternative but to gradually step up reunification through north-south cooperation, namely, by establishing an elastic confederation to promote economic, social and cultural interchange between them and deepen mutual understanding and trust.

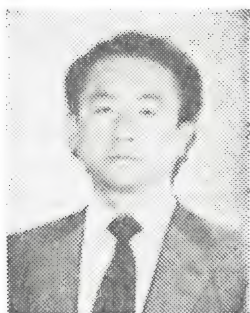
The north already made a concrete proposal on the "Confederal Republic of Koryo" and there is no reason whatsoever to oppose it.

It should not be allowed for the July 4, 1972 North-South Joint Statement to remain a mere document.

Its realization is certainly attended with difficulties.

However, only by tiding over these difficulties will the Korean people enjoy genuine happiness. I should like to stress that it is the ardent desire of the Korean people as well as the world peace-loving people to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea pooling efforts and resource of the nation.

UN RESOLUTIONS SYSTEM FOR KOREAN AGGRESSION AND JAPAN-US SECURITY TREATY SYSTEM



FUJISHIMA UDAI

Japanese Critic

This is an article from the book *Korea's Reunification and Human Rights* published by the Godo Publishing House in Japan (1976).

The resolution "On Imperialism and Colonialism" adopted at the Second Conference of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity convened in Conakry, the capital of Guinea, from the 11th to the 15th of April 1960 elucidated the meaning of national independence as follows:

"The Conference is convinced that the people cannot be really independent:

- 1) When agreements are signed in their name without their complete approval.
- 2) When foreign troops are stationed against their will

on their independent territory and occupy military bases.

- 3) When they are members of an organization under colonialist influence, or when they are tied to imperialist powers by military pacts.
- 4) When they do not enjoy in the political, military, economic and social fields all the attributes of national sovereignty.
- 5) When the fundamental Freedoms of Man stipulated by the Universal Declaration of the Right of Man are not respected."

South Korea completely satisfies each of these five conditions. It, therefore, cannot be called an independent country. "Laws" in south Korea are enacted and promulgated at the discretion of the "president" under the control of US imperialism. The south Korean "national assembly" has no power due to a parliament that represents sovereignty. The US troops are stationed there indefinitely under the "south Korea-US mutual defence treaty" and has the "south Korean army" under its control on the strength of south Korea-US agreement, and therefore, this army is without independence. The political, economic, military, social and "various other plans" of south Korea can hardly be fulfilled or existent without the imperialist "aid" from America, Japan and other countries, which renders it impossible for the people to perform at their own discretion the functions inherent in national sovereignty. It is widely known internationally that the fundamental individual freedoms stipulated by the International Declaration of the Human Rights is completely ignored in south Korea, a fact which often comes up even before US Congress as the focus of criticism.

Today, the most important qualification for the participation in the non-aligned movement is considered to be the negation of the second condition mentioned above, that is, the establishment of a policy for disallowing the presence in one's territory of foreign troops or military bases. It was due to the

lack of this most important qualification that the south Korean "government's" application for membership in the non-aligned movement was refused at the end of August 1975.

In contrast, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which was formally admitted into the non-aligned movement in August 1975, has pursued the policy of opposing the presence of all foreign troops or bases since the complete withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers in October 1958.

A HUMAN RIGHTS OBLITERATION ORGAN CALLED "ROK GOVERNMENT"

A "Japan-south Korea basic treaty" was concluded on June 25, 1965. This treaty is accompanied with the "agreement on the legal status of Koreans in Japan," and a "special emigration and immigration law" was instituted and promulgated as a national law for it.

Paragraph 3, Article 6 of this law, provides that the Japanese government can take the following oppressive measure against the Korean nationals who, while retaining "Korean nationality", are permitted to settle in Japan permanently under the "agreement on legal status":

Namely, Article 6 (3)—The Japanese government can issue a "forced expulsion order to a person who suffered a confinement or greater penalty for his criminal act against the ruler, diplomatic mission or diplomatic and consular offices of a foreign country and whom the Minister of Justice presumes to have done serious harm to the interests of diplomacy of the Japanese State for that criminal act."

There is not such a provision of the criminal code of Japan for punishing a person for a "criminal act against the ruler, diplomatic mission or diplomatic and consular offices of a foreign country" regarding his as a special criminal act dif-

ferent from those committed by ordinary people. Nonetheless, of all the foreign residents in Japan, only the Koreans in Japan who have gained the "permanent residence right under agreement on Korean nationality" are subject to this special repressive law. This is an unquestionable discrimination, which breaks the law order of Japan. Moreover, as this repressive law does not refer to concrete acts to be regarded as "criminal acts", the Japanese police is liable to conclude in his own judgment what is not generally considered to be a crime as a "criminal act". For example, according to this paragraph, the Japanese government can lay the charge of "criminal act" on and suppress those who are concerned with the trampled national sovereignty and the International Declaration of the Human Rights in south Korea and air their opinions on the need of resignation of the foreign-controlled "president" in order to remedy the situation. On charge of a "criminal act" it can also suppress the protest lodged with the south Korean embassy in Japan against the KCIA's prosecution of Korean residents in Japan.

Therefore, in case they obtain the "permanent residence right under the agreement" as "Korean nationals," the Korean nationals in Japan must be ready to be placed in legal position in which they are deprived of national sovereignty and fundamental human rights as well. This means the extension of the repressive system within south Korea to the Korean nationals in Japan as a consequence of the conclusion of the "Japan-south Korea basic treaty".

Giving a lecture at the Asia and Africa Society, a gathering of the interested Dietmen of the Japanese government party (Liberal Democratic Party), on February 7, 1973, Kim Dae Jung, the former south Korean presidential candidate, spoke about the actual situation of national sovereignty and human rights suppression in south Korea, citing an instance showing how the repressive law called the "Anti-Communist Law" is misapplied by the person in power:

"The Anti-Communist Law of south Korea is so severe that a slight mistake is enough to incur a death penalty. The most serious problem in this Anti-Communist Law lies in that, though it is another question if punishment is meted out to a criminal who has intended to benefit the Communist Party, any act not intended to help the communist party is punishable if it results in sympathizing with it. Article 4 of that law provides for punishment for encouraging or siding with it. Encouragement or sympathy covers a very wide range. The north, for instance, maintains that the country must be reunified peacefully since the nation is homogeneous. But, in the south the same assertion transgresses the law even if it has no relations whatsoever with the north. The alleged charge is sympathizing.

"Under the Anti-Communist Law, as I told Mr. Utsunomiya the other day, even beggary is punishable. I hear the north has reported, 'There are beggars in the south due to instability of people's living resulting from misrule.' Now, suppose a beggar goes begging from door to door. This is regarded as sympathizing with the report of the north. That's how it is punishable. The beggar is made an offender though he has no such intention, because even an unattempted offence is made punishable. As you can see, it is so severe a law."

This Anti-Communist Law was instituted and promulgated to bolster, and widen the scope of application of, the "National Security Law" which provides for capital punishment, life term of penal servitude or other penalties on charge of "attempted formation" of "anti-State organization". According to the "Outline of National Security Law and Anti-Communist Law" written in 1970 by Han Ok Sin, public procurator in charge of public peace in the Supreme Public Procurator's Office of south Korea, "no evidence is specially needed" in punishing

persons suspected of having violated the "National Security Law" on charge of being "spies".

In other words, in south Korea there has already been a suppressive system that obliterates the sovereign and human rights of the so-called "ROK people" as the Korean nation. And a pretext for its extended application to the Korean nationals in Japan is provided by the "agreement on legal status of Koreans in Japan" and the "special emigration and immigration law" which were attendant with the "Japan-south Korea basic treaty". These laws which would lead to the destruction of the Japan's constitutional system have not been put into force, of course, due to the opposition from the Japanese democratic force and the associations of Korean nationals in Japan. In 1974, however, in order to reinforce it, there was a plot of "Shiina's memorandum" to extend the network of suppression to all the Korean nationals in Japan. Another method of reinforcement used by the Japanese government can be seen in the fact that it brings many KCIA agents in Japan and allows them to carry on criminal activities, permitting them tacitly, saying, "There has not been such a thing that Japan's sovereignty is infringed upon by the official power of a foreign country," as evidenced by the abduction and attempted murder of Mr. Kim Dae Jung in 1973.

Viewed in a historic light, originally the south Korean "government" rigged up by the US army occupying south Korea in the midst of suppressing the people there was, from the first, a tool for infringing upon the sovereign and human rights of the south Korean people and dividing Korea into the north and the south.

On May 10, 1948, to trump up the so-called "ROK government" by its interference camouflaged with the "observation" of the "UN Temporary Commission on Korea" and thus trample underfoot the sovereign right of the Korean nation and split Korea in two parts, the US army occupying south Korea forced a unilateral "election" only on the south Korean people. The "Postwar Political Situation in Korea" published in

July 1948 as an internal material "for reference in office work" by the Foreign Ministry of the Japanese government (Then Japan was also under the administration of the US occupation forces) writes:

"The US government announced that for the election in south Korea it would dispatch a cruiser to Inchon and a destroyer to Pusan, get the ground force to stand guard, and order the air force to conduct demonstration flights over all parts of south Korea for supervision so that no radicalists could cause trouble during the election.

"With the approach of the election day, sabotage, terrorism and other acts of election disturbance by the radicalists came into the open in different parts including Cheju-do Island, and therefore, the US military governor gave the local 'patriotic Koreans' Homeland Defence Corps the right to assist the police in the maintenance of order and had the American women and children withdrawn from Cheju-do Island in anticipation of the May Day crisis. At the same time, on April 28 an alert order was given to the US troops in south Korea and a curfew order issued.

"As scheduled, the election began in all districts at seven on the morning of May 10. Sixty thousand armed police and a million vigilance corps members were stationed all over south Korea. The US Army, too, took a step to assign the MPs and even the military government employees and ordinary soldiers to the maintenance of public order. Commander Hodges and the US military governor, Dean, too, went the rounds of the city of Seoul. The UN Commission divided its 35 supervisors into 9 teams and sent them out to various districts. The revolt in Cheju-do Island developed into a battle condition, and the raid on a US army divisional headquarters in Seoul and other acts of election disturbance were committed in

different places. But the voting proceeded quietly beyond expectation.”

The “patriotic Koreans” were a gang of terrorists formed at that time at the bidding of the US army, who cooperated with Japan during her colonial rule; they were quislings and traitors to the Korean people. The political leaders in south Korea who supported this deceptive “election” at that time were Syngman Rhee and Kim Song Su alone who were the tools for US military administration, and all the other leaders, from the leftists favouring national independence to the right-wing nationalists, were opposed to it. That is why the US army was in combat readiness throughout south Korea and all the police force and terrorist groups were mobilized so as to force “voting” on the south Korean people by means of repression, arrest and murder.

It, in effect, was a trick to impose a puppet regime on the south Korean people, trampling down their right to self-determination through suppression by the US army under the spurious word of “election”.

Therefore, “it was expected from the beginning that the election in south Korea would result in unilateral victory for the rightists, and the question was not whether the leftists or the rightists would win, but rather whether the election would be held smoothly as arranged or not in the teeth of the obstruction or boycotting by the opposers in north and south Korea.” (*Ibid.*)

The “rightists” referred to in this document are not the original right-wing nationalists; they mean the Syngman Rhee clique who, as the stooges for neo-colonialist rule, maintained the anti-communist, unpatriotic stand. The original right-wing nationalists took the stand of national self-determination and unanimously opposed the “election” hand in hand even with the Communists.

On the basis of the return of such “election”, the US army rigged up the “ROK government” (Syngman Rhee regime) on

August 15 that year, and it is natural that this regime, acting as a cat's paw of the US army, took it as its primary task to obliterate the sovereign and human rights of the Korean people.

On November 20, 1948, the south Korean "government" formulated a "National Security Law" as a successor to the "Public Peace Maintenance Law" which had been promulgated in Korea during Japanese imperialist colonial rule to stamp out the Korean people's liberation struggle and human rights as a whole.

Thus the south Korean "government" took over the practice of suppression perpetrated by the former Japanese government-general in Korea, which clearly reveals the real intention behind the switchover of old colonialism to neo-colonialism.

This shows that the lapse of time after that can hardly serve as an excuse for justifying the south Korean "government" which was a tool for domination over south Korea, division of Korea into the north and the south, invasion of the north by force of arms, etc., which were produced by US imperialists' unreasonable military interference.

However, in order to find a pretext for winning international recognition of its propriety the successive US governments have consistently misused the very United Nations which should naturally respect "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people".

ABUSED UNITED NATIONS

On December 12, 1948, following the fabrication of the south Korean "national assembly" and "government" through such illegal "election", the US government (Truman administration) got the UN General Assembly to adopt the following resolution which was another plot to "justify" internationally the above-mentioned intrigue for neo-colonialist rule in south

Korea through the abuse of the United Nations:

RESOLUTION 195 (III) ADOPTED AT 3RD SESSION OF
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON DECEMBER 12, 1948
(48 VOTES TO 6, WITH 1 ABSTENTION)

THE PROBLEM OF INDEPENDENCE OF KOREA

The General Assembly,

Having regard to its resolution 112 (II) of 14 November 1947 concerning the problem of the independence of Korea,

Having considered the report of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (hereinafter referred to as the "Temporary Commission") and the report of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly regarding its consultation with the Temporary Commission,

Mindful of the fact that, due to difficulties referred to in the report of the Temporary Commission, the objectives set forth in the resolution of 14 November 1947 have not been fully accomplished, and in particular that unification of Korea has not yet been achieved,

1. *Approves* the conclusions of the reports of the Temporary Commission;

2. *Declares* that there had been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea) having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of all Korea reside; that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such Government in Korea;

3. *Recommends* that the occupying Powers should withdraw their occupation forces from Korea as early as practicable;

4. *Resolves* that, as a means to the full accomplishment of the objectives set forth in the resolution of 14 November 1947, a Commission on Korea consisting of Australia, China, El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines and Syria, shall be established to continue the work of the Temporary Commission and carry out the provisions of the present resolution, having in mind the status of the Government of Korea as herein defined, and in particular to:

(a) Lend its good offices to bring about the unification of Korea and the integration of all Korean security forces in accordance with the principles laid down by the General Assembly in the resolution of 14 November 1947;

(b) Seek to facilitate the removal of barriers to economic, social and other friendly intercourse caused by the division of Korea;

(c) Be available for observation and consultation in the further development of representative government based on the freely-expressed will of the people;

(d) Observe the actual withdrawal of the occupying forces and verify the fact of withdrawal when such has occurred; and for this purpose, if it so desires, request the assistance of military experts of the two occupying Powers;

5. *Decides* that the Commission:

(a) Shall, within thirty days of the adoption of the present resolution, proceed to Korea, where it shall maintain its seat;

(b) Shall be regarded as having superseded the Temporary Commission established by the resolution of 14 November 1947;

(c) Is authorized to travel, consult and observe throughout Korea;

6. *Requests* that the Secretary-General shall provide the Commission with adequate staff and facilities, including technical advisers as required; and authorizes the Secretary-General to pay the expenses and *per diem* of a representative and an alternate from each of the States members of the Commission;

7. *Calls upon* the Member States concerned, the Government of the Republic of Korea, and all Koreans to afford every assistance and facility to the Commission in the fulfilment of its responsibilities;

8. *Calls upon* Member States to refrain from any acts derogatory to the results achieved and to be achieved by the United Nations in bringing about the complete independence and unity of Korea.

VIOLATION OF UN CHARTER BY UN

Why did the General Assembly of the United Nations play the criminal role of endorsing and supporting such neo-colonialist rule in south Korea?

The reason for it is basically twofold. One is that the majority of the UN Member States in those days were under the tight control or influence of US imperialism. Most of the present third world countries holding membership in the United Nations were still nonexistent, and the Chinese People's Republic was yet to be founded, Latin-American countries were also under the neo-colonialist domination of US imperialism, although they were members to the United Nations. This is clearly revealed by the number of votes. Dissension and abstention were made only by the countries within the Soviet Union's sphere of influence and in East Europe. The other is that the UN General Assembly, tempted by the United States, has since 1947 been interfering in the Korean question in violation

of the UN Charter although it is originally without its right.

The UN Charter provides as one of the purposes of the United Nations in Article 1, Clause 2 "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples". Article 107 also prescribes as follows:

"Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action."

This notwithstanding, the UN General Assembly, giving way to the demand of the US government, has since 1947 dealt with and interfered in the Korean question without the participation of the representative of the Korean nation and its consent. This was an infringement upon the Korean nation's right to self-determination and ran counter to the purpose of the UN Charter.

At the same time, it was also a violation of Article 107 of the UN Charter as it invalidated or precluded a guarantee of Korean independence agreed upon by the Allied Powers as a result of the Second World War.

A concrete instance of violation of the UN Charter is Resolution 112 (II) of the second session of the General Assembly held on November 14, 1947. That Korea should become a "free and independent" state was decidedly expressed in the Cairo Declaration, Potsdam Proclamation and Japan's "Instrument of Surrender", and the ways of its realization while respecting the Korean nation's right for self-determination, too, were decided upon at the Moscow Conference of Three Foreign Ministers in December 1945.

Nonetheless, the US government (Truman administration), disregarding all these decisions reached as a result of the

Second World War, brought the Korean question before the second session of the UN General Assembly which was open from September 16, 1947, and forced it to include in the agenda of its plenary session of September 23 by 41 votes to 6, with 7 abstentions.

Again, the US government pressed the UN General Assembly to adopt the following resolution on November 14, 1947, without the participation of the representative of the Korean nation and its consent and even establish a "United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea", an organ of interference, to get it to cooperate with the US occupying forces in south Korea:

RESOLUTION 112 (II) ADOPTED AT 2ND SESSION OF
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON NOVEMBER 14, 1947

(43 VOTES TO NONE, WITH 6 ABSTENTIONS)

THE PROBLEM OF INDEPENDENCE OF KOREA

A

Inasmuch as the Korean question which is before the General Assembly is primarily a matter for the Korean people itself and concerns its freedom and independence, and

Recognizing that this question cannot be correctly and fairly resolved without the participation of representatives of the indigenous population,

The General Assembly,

1. *Resolves* that elected representatives of the Korean people be invited to take part in the consideration of the question;

2. *Further resolves* that in order to facilitate and

expedite such participation and to observe that the Korean representatives are in fact duly elected by the Korean people and not mere appointees by military authorities in Korea, there be forthwith established a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, to be present in Korea, with right to travel, observe and consult throughout Korea.

B

The General Assembly,

Recognizing the urgent and rightful claims to independence of the people of Korea;

Believing that the national independence of Korea should be re-established and all occupying forces then withdrawn at the earliest practicable date; *Recalling* its previous conclusion that the freedom and independence of the Korean people cannot be correctly or fairly resolved without the participation of representatives of the Korean people, and its decision to establish a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (hereafter called "Commission") for the purpose of facilitating and expediting such participation by elected representatives of the Korean people,

1. *Decides* that the Commission shall consist of representatives of Australia, Canada, China, El Salvador, France, India, Philippines, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic;

2. *Recommends* that the elections be held not later than 31 March 1948 on the basis of adult suffrage and by secret ballot to choose representatives with whom the Commission may consult regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people and which representatives, constituting a National Assembly, may establish a National Government of Korea. The number of representatives from each voting

area or zone should be proportionate to the population, and the elections should be under the observation of the Commission;

3. *Further recommends* that as soon as possible after the elections, the National Assembly should convene and form a National Government and notify the Commission of its formation;

4. *Further recommends* that immediately upon the establishment of a National Government, that Government should, in consultation with the Commission: (a) constitute its own national security forces and dissolve all military or semi-military formations not included therein; (b) take over the functions of government from the military commands and civilian authorities of north and south Korea, and (c) arrange with the occupying Powers for the complete withdrawal from Korea of their armed forces as early as practicable and if possible within ninety days;

5. *Resolves* that the Commission shall facilitate and expedite the fulfilment of the foregoing programme for the attainment of the national independence of Korea and withdrawal of occupying forces, taking into account its observations and consultations in Korea. The Commission shall report, with its conclusions, to the General Assembly and may consult with the Interim Committee (if one be established) with respect to the application of this resolution in the light of developments;

6. *Calls upon* the Member States concerned to afford every assistance and facility to the Commission in the fulfilment of its responsibilities;

7. *Calls upon* all Members of the United Nations to refrain from interfering in the affairs of the Korean people during the interim period preparatory to the establishment of Korean independence, except in pursuance of the decision of the General Assembly; and thereafter, to refrain completely from any and all acts derogatory to the

independence and sovereignty of Korea.

We can see in this resolution the hackneyed, deceptive logic the successive US governments have followed at the United Nations since then, that is, a logic of setting forth a good proposal while using aggressive means impertinently in practice. For example, claiming that the Korean question is “primarily a matter for the Korean people itself” and “cannot be correctly and fairly resolved without the participation of representatives of the indigenous population,” they actually had such interfering resolution adopted without the participation of “representatives of the indigenous population” of Korea and, what is worse, in defiance of the Korean people’s objection. To take an illustration, declaring that a “Commission” was formed “to observe” that the “representatives elected” are “not mere appointees” by the US army occupying south Korea, in actuality the US government played such a mean trick as to get the “Commission” to report to the United Nations that the puppets appointed by the US army as the “representatives of the Korean people” were those elected through democratic elections, thus deceiving the Member States of the United Nations. The resolution includes the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the “Commission”, but the countries within the Soviet Union’s sphere of influence rejected the voting from the first from the standpoint that such interference of the United Nations was unreasonable. The Ukrainian representative expressed before voting that it would not take part in the “commission”. However, in disregard of its will, Ukraine was included in the resolution to make believe that it was a democratic one.

Basing itself on such illegal “resolution of the UNO”, in 1948 the US government rigged up a south Korean “national assembly” and south Korean “government” through suppression perpetrated in the name of the aforesaid “election” whereby the US forces overrode the will of the south Korean people. And it again got the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a “resolution” to give it a semblance of a “lawful government”

based on "a valid expression of the free will of the electorate". It was the above-mentioned General Assembly resolution of December 12, 1948.

In the Korean war that broke out on June 25, 1950, too, the US government, availing itself of the General Assembly resolution of 12 December 1948, had already made preparations before the outbreak of the war to trump up a pretext for hurling the US army in it and "justifying" it internationally. The fact, however, was kept dark by the Truman administration till it was probed at US Congress one year after the outbreak of the war.

At the Senate Appropriations Committee hearing of the State Department budget (the Senate Appropriations Committee hearing of the budgets of the Departments of State, Justice and Commerce and the court) given on June 25, 1951, John D. Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of the United Nations, was obliged to testify to the fact that the United States had prepared beforehand a resolution to be presented to the Security Council in the event of war.

SYSTEM OF UN RESOLUTIONS FOR ARMED INVASION OF THE NORTH

Internationally, *Radio Pyongyang* must be the first to report the outbreak of war. Its report of the early morning of June 25, 1950, says:

"Very early in the morning today, June 25, the south Korean puppet army started a surprise invasion against the areas north of the 38th parallel all along the parallel.

"The enemy that launched a surprise attack has intruded one to two kilometres into the areas north of the

38th parallel from the west of Haeju and from the directions of Kumju and Cholwon.

"The Ministry of the Interior of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea ordered the garrisons of the Republic to repulse the enemy from the areas north of the 38th parallel. The garrisons of the Republic are now waging a severe battle of defence, fighting back the invaders. They have repulsed the enemy which intruded into the areas north of the 38th parallel from the direction of Yangyang.

"The Government of the DPRK has entrusted the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic with the task of calling the attention of the south Korean puppet government to the fact that should the south Korean puppet government authorities not immediately stop the adventurous act of war against the areas north of the 38th parallel, we would take a decisive measure to bring the enemy under control and at the same time that they should bear the full responsibility for the grave consequence resulting from this adventurous act of war."

However, the UN Security Council which met abruptly that day *at the request of the US State Department* adopted a prearranged resolution of the US government on the basis of the single report of the "UN Commission on Korea" that recorded the allegations of the south Korean "president" and "minister of foreign affairs" that "The north Korean army mounted a powerful attack over the 38th parallel at about 4 a.m. on the 25th June."

The "UN Commission on Korea" which presented such report had been established according to the unlawful General Assembly resolution of 12 December 1948. What is more, the US government saw to it that by Article 1, paragraph (a), of the resolution 293 (IV) adopted at the 4th session of the General Assembly on 21 October 1949 the Commission was given in advance the task to "observe and report any develop-

ments which might lead to or otherwise involve military conflict in Korea." At the time of the outbreak of the war this "UN Commission on Korea" was functioning only in south Korea at the dictation of the US government.

Moreover, even the report of the Commission did not refer to any investigation and judgement of its own on how the fighting had started. After all, the Security Council, completely accepting the US government's claim alone, brought itself to commit an utterly irresponsible act of "passing" the "resolution" prepared by the US government prior to the start of fighting on June 25, that is, the act of violating the UN Charter.

RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
82 OF 25 JUNE 1950

The Security Council,

Recalling the finding of the General Assembly in its resolution of 21 October 1949 that the Government of the Republic of Korea is a lawfully established government "having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea was able to observe and consult" and "that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such government in Korea".

Mindful of the concern expressed by the General Assembly in its resolutions of 12 December 1948 and 21 October 1949 of the consequences which might follow unless Member States refrained from acts derogatory to the results sought to be achieved by the United Nations in bringing about the complete independence and unity of Korea; and the concern expressed that the situation described by the United Nations Commission on Korea in its report menaces the safety and well-being of the

Republic of Korea and of the people of Korea and might lead to open military conflict there;

Noting with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea,

...

Determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace; and

- I. *Calls for* the immediate cessation of hostilities; *calls upon* the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel;
- II. *Requests* the United Nations Commission on Korea;
 - (a) To communicate its fully considered recommendations on the situation with the least possible delay,
 - (b) To observe the withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the 38th parallel,
 - (c) To keep the Security Council informed on the execution of this resolution;
- III. *Calls upon* all Members to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.

The Yugoslav representative, according to I.F. Stone's *Hidden History of Korean War*, had the courage and judgment good enough to hold that the Council was wanting in correct informations to conclude where the responsibility would be placed. He was very emphatic about the cessation of hostilities. He opposed concluding north Korea as an aggressor without closer investigation.

The Soviet Union was not in a position to exercise its veto right since it had been boycotting the Security Council, signifying its dissatisfaction at the fact that the Chinese People's Republic's right to representation in the United Nations was

not recognized.

The US government, however, anticipated a case in which the Soviet Union would present itself suddenly at the Council meeting to exercise the veto right. So, it had previously worked out a plot against it, to issue a statement blaming the Soviet Union and asking the Secretary-General to convene a special session of the General Assembly. It is provided that special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the members of the United Nations, but in consideration of the US influence in the UN General Assembly the "request of a majority" was within the range of possibility. It was also one year later that the preparation of such additional plot by the US government was brought to light at US Congress.

But this additional plot was left on the shelf, because the first one proved successful. Thus, through the Security Council resolution of 25 June 1950 the US government first of all labelled the DPRK as the "breacher of the peace" and, with this as a precondition, started an armed invasion of the north by its own army.

US President Truman issued an order to rush into an aggressive war on the strength of the unlawful "resolution" and in spite of the fact that even this "resolution" had no mention of such a "request". The "resolution" calls upon all Members of the United Nations "to render every assistance to the United Nations," but it does not refer to "assistance" to the "Republic of Korea". However, by virtue of this "resolution" Truman issued from June 25 to 27 orders on rushing into the aggressive war.

According to the State Department's Korea White Paper, *after* measures were taken by the Security Council the United States of America considered the ways of assisting the "Republic of Korea" on the basis of the resolution of the Council. At the end of the meeting held on the evening of Sunday, 25th June in the presence of

President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defence, high-ranking advisers, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and others, MacArthur was authorized to furnish additional supply of military material and aid to the south Korean government in the form of supply under the mutual defence and aid programme.

According to the testimony given at US Congress by Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the first order came at about 3 a.m. on June 27, bringing the US army to intervene in the war. Nine hours later, at noon on June 27 Truman made public the US army's entry in the war through a statement in which he said he had ordered the US air and naval forces to render covering and support to the south Korean "government" army. The statement even boastfully said that the United States would support the rule by law at any case.

Three hours later, that is, at 3 p.m. on the 27th, a Security Council meeting was held where the Truman administration railroaded the following "resolution" by forcing *ex post facto* approval of the above steps.

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 83 OF 27 JUNE
1950 (7 VOTES TO 1, WITH 2 ABSTENTIONS, 1 ABSENTEE)

The Security Council,

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

...

Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and

Having called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel, and

Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea that the authorities in North Korea

have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security, and

Having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security,

Recommends that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.

Truman interpreted this "resolution" as approving the US army's breakthrough of the 38th parallel and armed invasion, though it is hard to know how it came to be interpreted as such.

On June 30, according to the "Korea White Paper," the President announced that acting upon the Security Council resolution, he permitted the US Air Force to carry out its missions against the specific military targets in north Korea and ordered the blockade of the whole coast of Korea by the naval force; he also made public that General MacArthur was authorized to use a certain number of ground reinforcements.

On June 29, *Radio Pyongyang* said that on the 29th 27 bombers of the US air force raided Pyongyang and dropped bombs of 350-500 pounds each.

In the long run, the US government used the two unlawful Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950 as the *legal basis* for its war plan which outwardly took the form of "defence" against the north's "invasion of the south" but actually drove its aggressive troops and puppet army to an attack on the north according to its originally carefully calculated and elaborated aggressive scheme.

Again on July 7 the Truman administration pressed the Security Council to adopt the following "resolution":

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 84 OF 7 JULY 1950
(7 VOTES TO NONE, WITH 3 ABSTENTIONS AND 1 ABSENTEE)

The Security Council,

...

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having recommended that Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area,

1. *Welcomes* the prompt and vigorous support which governments and peoples of the United Nations have given to its resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950 to assist the Republic of Korea in defending itself against armed attack and thus to restore international peace and security in the area;

2. *Notes* that Members of the United Nations have transmitted to the United Nations offers of assistance for the Republic of Korea;

3. *Recommends* that all Members providing military forces and other assistance pursuant to the aforesaid Security Council resolutions make such forces and other assistance available to a unified command under the United States;

4. *Requests* the United States to designate the commander of such forces;

5. *Authorizes* the unified command at its discretion to use the United Nations flag in the course of operation against North Korean forces concurrently with the flags of the various nations participating;

6. *Requests* the United States to provide the Security Council with reports as appropriate on the course of action taken under the unified command.

Yugoslavia, Egypt and India abstained from voting and the USSR was absent.

The Truman administration had the "unified command under the United States" called the "United Nations Command".

This apparently was a tricky change of words. By having the "unified command under the United States" which was not originally a "United Nations Command" called as such and getting it to use the UN flag, it committed an intellectual crime of changing its name subtly. Therefore, the troops of various countries dispatched to the "unified command" in fact were not the "United Nations forces" but the allied puppet forces under the command of the US army.

According to the provisions of the United Nations Charter, a "unified command under the United States" cannot be called a "United Nations Command". "Chapter VII, Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression" specifies in Articles 42 to 47 in what way the UN forces are dispatched. However, the US forces dispatched to Korea by the US government and called the "UN forces" had nothing to do with such provisions. The above three Security Council resolutions were based on Article 39 of the UN Charter.

"Article 39. The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

It was on the basis of the provision of "make recommendations" in the first lines of this article, regardless of "in accordance with Article 42" in the last lines which provides for the dispatch of the UN forces, that a "recommendation" was given to Members of the United Nations for troop dispatch

to Korea in conjunction with the two Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950. It is clear, therefore, that the troops dispatched by various countries on that basis were not the UN forces as provided for in the UN Charter.

Article 32 of the UN Charter provides:

“Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.”

However, no procedures were made at all for “inviting” the DPRK fighting the intruding US troops in the Korean war to participate in the Security Council. From the standpoint of the Korean people, this was a grave infringement upon their sovereign right. Such negation of sovereign right was a direct violation of the principle of the UN Charter.

Article 27 of the UN Charter also provides that decisions of the Security Council on all matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members. However, the resolution “recommending” troop dispatch to Korea was “passed” without the consent of the Soviet Union, with the right of representation of the Chinese People’s Republic, the lawful representative of China, disclaimed and at the time when the Soviet Union was absent. Accordingly, the “adoption” itself was a violation of the UN Charter.

This notwithstanding, the Security Council resolution of 7 July 1950 permitted the “unified command under the United States” based on these two unlawful “resolutions” to use the “United Nations flag” The “unified command under the United

States" was authorized under the resolution to use the United Nations flag, but the US government wilily called it the "UN Command".

Thus, a probe into the course of process clearly reveals that in order to get the US army to be called the "UN forces" the US government repeatedly perpetrated the fraudulence of continuously piling up accomplished facts of violation of the UN Charter and enlarged interpretation one after another and made its vassal states approve them.

And it is only natural that the bogus "UN forces", a product of such fraudulence, could hardly satisfy the conditions of the UN forces as provided for in the UN Charter. For instance, true, lawful UN forces must be sent according to a special agreement based on Article 42 of the UN Charter and the prerogative of supreme command rests with the Security Council. But, the sham "UN forces" are not based on such special agreement and the prerogative of their supreme command is in the hands of the US army commander—US President, and the Security Council has no prerogative of their command at all. Article 46 of the UN Charter provides that plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee (consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives).

However, the plan for the use of this bogus "UN forces" had been worked out and carried out waywardly by the US government, independently of the Security Council.

It is clear from this that the existence of the US troops called the "UN forces" and of the puppet army was illegal as it infringed upon the right to self-determination, the fundamental right of the Korean nation, and trampled down the UN Charter. Moreover, still today when more than 20 years have passed since then, the Security Council fails to disband and remove the US troops that forced their way into Korea and remain entrenched under the plea of the unlawful UN Security Council resolutions.

ADDITIONAL ILLEGAL STEPS

With a view to back up such unlawful resolutions of the Security Council, the US government took some additional illegal steps.

One of them is Resolution 376 (V) adopted at the 5th session of the General Assembly on 7 October 1950. It was submitted by 8 countries headed by Great Britain at the instigation of the US government. In paragraph 1 (a) of the resolution the General Assembly "recommends" that "all appropriate steps be taken to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea, which is interpreted by both Japanese and US governments as *ex post facto* approval by the General Assembly of the armed invasion of the north by the "UN forces" which was sanctioned by the Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950.

In paragraph 2 (a) it says that the General Assembly resolves to establish a Commission consisting of Australia, Chile, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Turkey, to be known as the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

This "commission" functioned in south Korea over a long period thereafter and presented its "report" every year, repeatedly distorting facts by reporting that "there is a danger of southward aggression" or "elections have been carried out on a democratic line". The DPRK more than once demanded the dissolution of the "commission". With the increase of countries which withdrew from it, it ceased to exercise its function at last, but it kept infringing upon the Korean people's right to self-determination as a tool of the US government until it was dissolved by the General Assembly in 1973.

What is more, the US government had the UN General Assembly adopt Resolution 498 (V) at the 5th session on 1

February 1951. Referring to the People's Republic of China which entered in the war by sending the Chinese People's Volunteers to the Korean front from October 1950, the resolution says that the General Assembly "finds that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, by giving direct aid and assistance to those who were already committing aggression in Korea and by engaging in hostilities against United Nations forces there, has itself engaged in aggression in Korea." (Paragraph 1.) This resolution had since long served as an excuse for preventing the restoration of the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations and was in existence until it was virtually annulled with the adoption of a General Assembly resolution of 1971 on the restoration of her representation in the United Nations.

The most stringent legal step taken against the Japanese people was the conclusion of a Japan-US Security Treaty under the actual circumstances in which Japan was used by the US army (the false "UN forces") which was engaging in the Korean war on the basis of the Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June and 7 July 1950 and of the General Assembly resolution of 1 February 1951.

The first Japan-US Security Treaty was signed on 8 September 1951 and came into force on 28 April 1952.

USE OF JAPAN IN KOREAN WAR

The bogus "UN forces" (US troops) could not wage the Korean aggression war without making use of Japan. Such use of Japan was not limited to the mere utilization of bases; it meant the use of the social structure as a whole. As legal measures for consolidating it, a "peace treaty with Japan" and a "Japan-US Security Treaty" were concluded.

After her defeat in 1945 Japan was placed under the exclusive occupation of the US army. The Korean war broke out five years later, but the policies pursued by the GHQ (The General Headquarters of the Allied Powers which virtually was the US army headquarters) in Japan from some years before were directed naturally to the preparations for that war. This period corresponded with the period in which the US troops occupying south Korea forged the "Republic of Korea" by means of vicious suppression and were making preparations for war.

In the early days of occupation of Japan, the GHQ, while taking some measures for democratization, followed the policy of converting the former intelligence officers of the Japanese army and navy, rightists, politicians who were war criminals and the like into agents of the United States to get them to work with G2 and of using Japan as the largest base for military and economic aggression on Asia. Already around that time the former Japanese army's intelligence organs were reorganized to be put under the US intelligence organs and their agents were sent to south Korea to engage in subversive activities against north Korea. In September 1947 a "National Security Act" was passed through US Congress, and the Central Intelligence Agency set up on that basis started its activities, taking Japan as the biggest strongpoint for its manoeuvres against Asia.

Here is a chronicle of the subsequent GHQ's policies.

1948

January 6. Royall, US Secretary of the Army issued a statement in which he put forward a policy for discontinuing the "industrial deconcentration" policy that would weaken the war capability of Japan, putting an end to the policy of demilitarization of Japan and helping her "to stand on her feet" as an anti-communist bulwark.

March 13. The US Departments of State and the Army express their readiness to retract "Document FEC230" (Japan's

excessive economic decentralization plan).

April 20. The Korean school in Tokyo was ordered by the US army to close.

April 25. The US military government in Hyogo Prefecture, Japan, declared a state of emergency in the Kobe district to suppress a demonstration against the closure of the Korean school designed for national education. Many Koreans were arrested.

June 23. Arrest of those involved in the case of the Showa Denko Co. started. With this case as an occasion, within the GHQ the New Dealers in the CS (Civil Service Bureau) which pushed forward the democratization of Japan were completely removed and Willoughby of G2 (General Staff, section 2) who was called "Mr. Fascist" took the leadership.

October 19. The GHQ entrusted Yoshida Shigeru with the formation of a government. As a person who in the capacity of consul-general in Fengtien attended the "Eastern Conference" where the Tanaka Giichi government set forth a basic policy for continental aggression in 1928, Yoshida Shigeru was immersed in the idea of Asian aggression and made a good showing in that respect.

July 31. Promulgation of Decree No. 201 depriving government and local officials of their rights to collective bargaining and strike.

December 20. Promulgation of a public establishments labour relations act.

December 24. Release of 19 suspected A-class war criminals. (Of them two died before release.) Included in the 19 persons were Kishi Nobusuke, Kodama Yoshio, Sasagawa Ryoichi. These are considered to have become political agents of the US Central Intelligence Agency. They exerted great influence on steering the subsequent politics of Japan in the direction of reaction.

1949

April 4. Promulgation of the "Organization Control Law".

The Special Examining Bureau (later the Public Safety Investigation Agency) set up for suppression of democratic organizations.

In 1949 the labour movement was rapidly on the ebb due to the successive occurrence of incidents such as the "Shimoyama case" of July 4, the "Mitaka case" of July 15 and the "Matsukawa case" of August 17, which were later considered to be the conspiracies of the US CIA and its agents as a result of the investigations carried out by the democratic forces in Japan, and also due to the subsequent suppression.

August 10. Promulgation of the "Emigration and Immigration Control Act." On September 8, the GHQ ordered the dissolution of the association of Korean residents in Japan pursuant to the "Organization Control Law."

"Early morning, September 8, 1949, the building of the League of Korean Residents in front of Yaesuguchi of Tokyo Station was besieged by hundreds of armed police force and the traffic in the neighbourhood was shut off. That day the Japanese government, in the name of Attorney General Ueda Shunkichi, ordered the League of Korean Residents in Japan and the League of Korean Democratic Youths in Japan to dissolve on the charge that they were inconsistent with Article 2 of the Organization Control Law. At the same time, it confiscated the property of those organizations down to chapters and sub-chapters throughout the country, which amounted to hundreds of millions of *yen*, in exchange for a sheet of paper. In the wake of this, it ordered all the Korean schools and educational establishments in Japan to close all at once to be requisitioned and reorganized....

"In October the US army control and procurement system over the Japanese munitions industry was completely established and large enterprises of heavy chemical industry including the Shimomaruko Plant of the Higashinihon Heavy Industry (former Mitsubishi Heavy Industry), the Sagami Plant (former arsenal of the army) of the Komatsu Factory under the Fuji Automobile Plant (under direct control of the military), and

the Akabane Plant of the Japan Steel Mfg. Co. (former Akabane arsenal of the army) were incorporated in the US network of munitions production and went into operation simultaneously.

"In the draft budget for 1950, a sinking fund amounting to 72,300 million *yen* was added up in general account in advance, and with this fund the police reserve corps was formed overnight immediately after the outbreak of the war. (See Inoue, Onogi, Suzuki, *History of Modern Japan*, the Second Vol., pp. 452-53.) (Ryu Ho Il, *History of Modern Korea*.)

1950

On January 1, in his New Year statement MacArthur laid stress on "Japan's right of self-defence" On January 31, Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Bradley came to Japan and stated that the US army bases in Okinawa and the mainland of Japan would be strengthened. On February 13, 246 teachers in the Tokyo Metropolis were purged from public service on the alleged charge of being Reds. On May 3, MacArthur suggested that the Communist Party of Japan would be outlawed, and on June 2 the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Office banned rallies and demonstrations. (This was applied to the whole country.) On June 6, the GHQ dissolved the Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party and purged all its members from public office. On June 7, it gave instructions as to the purge of editorial cadres of *Akahata*, and on June 26, the day after the outbreak of the Korean war, the paper was ordered to suspend publication. On July 28, Red-purge from the press organs started.

About the situation in Japan after the outbreak of the Korean war on June 25, 1950, Sybolt, Chief of the Diplomatic Bureau of the GHQ, recalled as follows:

"The greatest aid Japan rendered to the United Nations and the GHQ at that time would probably be that she gave an immediate assent to the organization of a

national peace corps. This is clearly written in MacArthur's letter to Yoshida dated July 8, 1950. The GHQ permitted the Japanese government to organize the National Police Reserve Corps 75,000 strong and add 8,000 to the Maritime Police which would take charge of coastal guard.

"...Despite the fact that provisions of the Constitution prohibit armament and the provocation of war, the Police Reserve Corps was before long converted into a 'self-defence force' and came to have the possibilities of developing into a defence corps.... The 'Self-Defence Force' organized five divisions and would be equipped before long with heavy weapons including tanks. Thousands of police force were mobilized in guarding the storehouse of occupation facilities and the places where munitions were kept. They were armed with US-made rifles and pistols.

"The new Japanese army in fact looked like an army formed in America. When I visited its field training camp, I first thought if I had not strayed into the US base. Everything, from rifles to overalls, was what the GIs used. I saw a Japanese soldier having his meal with chopsticks, and it was only then that I realized they were really the Japanese soldiers of another generation with a new mission.

"At the request of MacArthur the Japanese government took measures to suppress the activities of the Japan Communist Party at the same time with the outbreak of the Korean war, but there still was a danger of sabotage and subversive activities. However, no big incident of sabotage occurred during the Korean war, probably because of the reinforcement of the Police Reserve Corps.

"Japan rendered sizable amount of indirect aid to the execution of the war. The US aircraft and warships that conducted operational actions from the Japanese air bases and ports depended on Japanese labour to a considerable degree. Japanese industry offered its facilities

and technicians for the repair of all kinds of equipment of the army and navy. Mountains of supply materials were transported to the Korean front via Japan. In out-of-way places of Japan camping grounds were offered for the retraining of fresh units coming from America. Some half of the numerical strength of the US 7th Division belonging to the 10th Army Corps was made up of Koreans. These Koreans were sent to Japan to be drawn into a mixed division together with GIs.

"Maybe it is not known so much that Japanese did work in the neighbourhood of the area adjacent to the front. The greater part of the Japanese ships were mobilized to be used in shipping troops and supplies to Korea. One third of the 720 vessels used for carrying the 10th Army Corps to the landing point of Inchon were manned with Japanese crew. Some 20 mine-sweepers manned with Japanese did minesweeping on both coasts of Korea on a contract. Hundreds of Japanese stevedores went as far as Inchon, Wonsan, Hungnam and other ports near the front and helped unloading.

"In short, Japan sympathized and fully cooperated with the UN activities in Korea. And both the government and the people satisfied with the demand of the situation." (Sybolt, *Recollection of Japan Occupation Diplomacy*, translated from the Japanese.)

The July 2, 1950, issue of *Asahi Shimbun* reported: "Are Japanese Crew Used?"—Mission of US Troops Transportation to Korea—Washington special dated 30, *AFP* franchise. Sources in Washington said on the night of 30th as follows:

"The United States has in Japan a sufficient number of vessels for shipping land force to Korea. These vessels are ordinary transport ships and LSTs. They were used when the Japanese POWs were withdrawn from Manchuria and their crew are versed in sea-routes on the coast of Korea. Military sources in Washington observe that the US army headquarters

may use all the crew to ship the US troops from Japan to Korea.”

According to the book entitled *Japan's Marine Transportation under Military Occupation* written by Ariyoshi Yoshiya, the then president of Trading Vessel Management Commission (later the director of the Japan Yusen) in recollection of that time, he was given previous warning by a person close to MacArthur and therefore could get fully prepared for cooperation with the US army with the prompt mobilization of vessels without feeling any surprise at all at the time of the outbreak of the war. “Throughout the period of hostilities in Korea the vessels under the Trading Vessel Management Commission were very busy. This meant they contributed so much to the action of the UN forces, and it too was because the LSTs which held the most part of the fleet were ideal for transportation of large-sized war machines and unloading on the obscure coasts and because the Japanese crew were more useful than those from far-off America as they were familiar with the geographical features of every nook and corner of the Korean coast.

According to *Diplomats among Soldiers*, a memoir of Murphy who was appointed the first US ambassador to Japan after the signing of “the Japanese peace treaty” (which came into force on 28 April 1952), “the Japanese at an amazing speed turned their four islands into a huge storehouse. Otherwise, the United States couldn't have fought in the Korean war.” “‘Storehouse’ is not a proper expression. In this war, Japan, it should be said, became a contracting plant for the US munitions industry.”

Japan's foreign currency earning from the US army's special procurements in the Korean war comprised about 350 million dollars worth of special procurement contract and some 600 million dollars worth of special procurement in a broad sense on an annual average between 1950-53, and its proportion in the gross foreign currency earning amounted to 14.8 per cent in 1950, 26.4 per cent in 1951, 36.8 per cent in 1952 and 38.2 per cent in 1953. (Inoue Yasumaru, “*Growth*” of Japanese

Economy and Militarization; Ogure Hirokatsu and Shima Yasuhiko, War and Economy.)

In the Korean war the US army furnished 73 million tons of war supplies which is 11 times larger than in the Pacific war and defrayed war expenditures amounting to 20 billion dollars. Part of it was expended in Japan, rapidly strengthening the monopoly capital's control over the munitions industry. On March 8, 1952, the GHQ ordered the Japanese government to resume weapon manufacturing. In actuality, it was before that the US army took over the former Japanese army and naval factories, put them under its direct control or committed them to the charge of private enterprises to get them to repair and regenerate weapons and ordered finished goods from them. After the issuance of the order of March 8, 1952, these former Japanese army and naval factories and other munitions factories were struck off the list of the factories designated for Japanese reparation and sold to Japanese monopoly capital at a cheap price.

Right before the Korean war the US army had in its Far East armed forces 375 fighters including jets, 40 night fighters, 80 bombers, 50 transports, 545 in all, and 280 warships of the Pacific Fleet. The preparations were so complete that even the magazine *Life* in August 1950 wrote, "Never before in our history had we been so nearly prepared at the start of any war as we were at the start of this war."

Before the start of war, the US government was giving a large quantity of weapons to the puppet "ROK army," and there were Japanese-made ones among them. For instance, in 1949 it gave 190 million dollars worth of weapons, which included 105,000 US-made as well as 40,000 Japanese-made rifles, more than 2,000 bazookas and its shells numbering 40,000, a large number of 105-mm howitzers, 37-mm and 57-mm anti-tank guns, flame-throwers, 60-80-mm mortars and their shells amounting to 700,000, mines, over 2,000 machine-guns and submachine guns and more than 4,900 automobiles. The bombs dropped by the US army in the area north of the 38th parallel

in the war were as many as 495,000 tons, or 3 times greater than it did in Japan in the Pacific War.

Facts tell that part of 75,000-strong Police Reserve Corps of Japan formed some time after the outbreak of the war and part of the Japanese employees in the US army establishments in Japan were thrown into the Korean front secretly.

In his press interview on July 1, 1951, Secretary-General of the Cabinet Okazaki Katsuo declared:

“A question has come to the fore as to the Japanese support as volunteers. It cannot be permitted in the light of the principles of the Constitution. But, since the US army has been called out as a police action taken by the United Nations, it is quite possible that some people engage in combat actions and other things on the order of the Occupation.” (July 2, 1950, issue of *Sangyokeizai Shimbun*.)

Asahi Shimbun of October 16 reported that on October 14, 1950, the DPRK Government lodged a protest with the Chairman of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council against the fact that “hundreds of Japanese soldiers are taking part in the Korean war.”

The September 30, 1950, issue of *Asahi Shimbun* carried the following report:

“New York, 29 (AP franchise). On the 29th Mr. George Hermen, chief of the Tokyo branch of the Colombian Broadcasting Station (CBS) remarked over the same radio: ‘A bogus unit 8,000 strong has appeared on the Korean front and fighting together with the UN forces. They are identified as Koreans from Japan.’” He added:

This “bogus unit” was wearing US army uniforms and caps and receiving the same pay as the GIs, and yet the US army commander denies its actual existence. But they are regarded as none other than the “Japanese piratical troops fighting in Korea” as alleged by the Communist side, that is, “the Japanese volunteers in Korea.”

However, those Koreans in Japan who participated in the war in response to the enlistment by south Korean settlement corporation in Japan numbered 725 (of which 61 were dead) throughout the war. (Investigation by the Association of Korean Comrades in Japan. *50 Years' History of Koreans in Japan* by Li Yu Han.)

The October 3, 1951, issue of *Rodong Sinmun*, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, carries the following statement of a Japanese POW named Yasui Tatsufumi (24):

"I was engaged in the repair of sewing-machine needles in Osaka. Some days after the outbreak of the Korean war we Japanese youths began to be forcibly mobilized in the Korean war under the name of the so-called volunteers for saving Korean lives. As a matter of fact, most of us volunteers are actually from the regular army which US imperialism had reared through military training in the name of the so-called police reserve in collusion with its stooges of the reactionary Yoshida government after its occupation of Japan. Among the volunteers there are many officers—war criminals who served in the army in the past and were suspected of war criminals but released by the Yoshida government. Difficulty of living and coercion made me member of the second batch of volunteers for saving Korean lives and sent me to Korea. Our unit was made up of 2,000, all Japanese youths from 20 to 30 years of age. We arrived at Tokyo on September 25, 1950, changed into US military uniforms at the US army 7th division and spent three days at Asaka city, Saitama Prefecture, learning from GIs how to bind knapsacks and pitch tents. Then we went to Yokohama, got on board a ship and arrived at Inchon port of Korea under the surveillance of GIs on the fourth day. There we were organized into ranks and assigned to different units of the UN forces.

“Believe it or not, among the loss suffered by the UN forces there were 48 Japanese war dead and 3 POWs.” (Koyamauchi Hiroshi, *Korean War and Vietnam War*, carried in the August 1965 issue of *Nippon*.)

Also, Ishii Shiro (Lieutenant-General) of the Japanese army (Kwantung army) who had perpetrated research in germ warfare and its tests in actual fighting in the colonial “Manchukuo” set up by old Japanese imperialism in the Northeast of China in the past, and others participated in the germ warfare of the sham “UN forces” in the Korean war, too.

GREATER PART OF JAPANESE DECEIVED

The aggressive role of Japan in the Korean war was so great, and yet the Japanese people in general had a poor understanding of it. It might be on account of the GHQ’s press gag, but the major reason is that the Japanese people failed to understand that the sovereign right of the Korean people should be respected above anything else and that many Japanese people, easily deceived by the plot of the bogus “UN forces” devised by the US government through an illicit use of the UN Security Council, had the illusion that the action of the US army was not an aggression but a righteous war consistent with the UN Charter.

To take an illustration, let me quote the editorial of the July 13, 1950, issue of *Asahi Shimbun*.

“A prompt powerful action taken by the United Nations with the outbreak of the Korean war gives a valuable hint for the future security of Japan. Of course, actual military action itself is performed by the United States. But the United States is doing that through the United Nations, which gives international authority to the US action. It,

therefore, is all the more powerful and at the same time has a higher authority.”

The editorial of the July 15, 1950, issue of *Yomiuri Shimbun* wrote:

“The step and action taken by the United Nations to remove aggression by real power are precisely the sole guarantee for defence of the security of Japan without armament.... It should be natural for us to help the United Nations in its action as far as possible.”

“JAPAN-US SECURITY TREATY” PRESUPPOSING KOREAN WAR

On September 8, 1951, “the Japanese peace treaty” and the first “Japan-US Security Treaty” were signed in San Francisco. These were concluded with the United States’ use of Japan in the Korean war as the actual precondition. In particular, the relations between the “Japan-US Security Treaty” and the Korean war are clearly revealed in the “Yoshida-Acheson Official Exchange Letters” accompanying the treaty. Since they are the official exchange letters, their purports are similar on both the Japanese and the US side. So, I quote below only the letter of the Japanese side which takes the form of confirmation of the letter from the US side.

PRIME MINISTER’S LETTER TO SECRETARY OF STATE OF USA

September 4, 1951

Dear sir,

I have the honour of confirming the receipt of your letter dated today in which you have notified as follows:

With the peace treaty signed today coming into effect, the Japanese State comes to assume the obligations under Article 2 of the UN Charter that all members "shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter."

As we know, an armed aggression took place in Korea. In connection with this the United Nations and its Member States are taking action. A United Nations Unified Command under the United States was set up in accordance with the 7 July 1950 resolution of the Security Council, and the General Assembly in its resolution of 1 February 1951 called upon all States and authorities to lend every assistance to the United Nations action and refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors. With the approval of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, the Japanese State has so far rendered and is rendering still today important assistance to the United Nations action by providing facilities and labour to those Member states of the United Nations whose armies are participating in that action.

The future is not definite and there is no knowing that unfortunately the need for facilities and labour in the Japanese State to prop up the United Nations action will continue to be felt or arise again, so I will be happy if you on behalf of your government confirm that in case the troops of more than 1 or 2 UN Member States are engaged in the United Nations action in the Far East after peace treaty comes into force the Japanese State will allow more than 1 or 2 Member States to keep in Japan and in her vicinity their troops engaged in such action or facilitate it and that the expense involved in the use of the Japanese facilities and labour will be met as at present or in accordance with separate agreements between the Japanese State and the relevant UN Member States. As for the United States, it will bear as at present the expense for facilities and labour exceeding the amount to be offered to it according to the

administrative agreement specifying the particulars about the application of the US-Japan Security Treaty.

Having fully studied the content of your letter, I have the honour of confirming on behalf of my government that in case the troops of more than 1 or 2 UN Member States are engaged in the United Nations action in the Far East after peace treaty comes into force the Japanese State will allow more than 1 or 2 Member States to keep in Japan and in her vicinity their troops engaged in such action or facilitate it and that the expense involved in the use of the Japanese facilities and labour will be met as at present or in accordance with separate agreements between the Japanese State and the relevant UN Member States. As for the United States, the expense for facilities and labour exceeding the amount to be offered to it according to the administrative agreement specifying the particulars about the application of the US-Japan Security Pact will be borne by the United States.

Respectfully yours,

Yoshida Shigeru
Prime Minister and Foreign Minister
of Japanese State
(Translated from the Japanese text.)

Paragraph 60 of Article IV of the "Military Armistice Agreement in Korea" signed on 27 July 1953 provides:

"60. In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the Governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a

political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.”

In actuality, the political conference was not held “within three months”. It was held at Geneva from April 26, 1954. The United States, however, concluded a “South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty” on October 1, 1953, which was put into effect on November 17, 1954. It also concluded with Japan an “agreement on the status of the UN forces in Japan” presupposing the maintenance of the sham “UN forces” dispatched to Korea.

This fact shows that the US government attended the Geneva conference without sincere attitude from the first towards the withdrawal of the bogus “UN forces”, and its unilateral discontinuance of the conference on June 15 seems to be a premeditated action.

The content of the above agreement is similar to that of the “administrative agreement” of the “Japan-US Security Treaty” (or to the “status agreement” of the second “security treaty”), and its amendment is dependent on that of the status agreement of the “Japan-US Security Treaty”. The agreement proves the dual nature of the US bases in Japan which at once become the bases of the bogus “UN forces.” If the “agreement on the status” of the US army in Japan on the basis of the “Japan-US Security Treaty” is compared to the right side, the “agreement on the status of the UN forces” based on the “UN resolutions” is the back side, and these two form an integral whole. In its preamble the “agreement on the status of the UN forces” defines the mission of the bogus “UN forces” and the position of Japan.

Particular attention should be paid to the reason why the UN resolutions are clearly pointed out in the agreement. The Security Council resolution of 25 June 1950 defined the DPRK as the “breacher of peace” and the General Assembly resolu-

tion of 1 February 1951 defined the People's Republic of China as an "aggressor". The latter was virtually annulled with the restoration of China's right to representation in the United Nations, but the former, as the resolution giving ground for the dispatch of the bogus "UN forces", will continue to be valid unless the bogus "UN forces" are dissolved. Moreover, the governments of Japan and the United States consider that the bogus "UN forces" armed invasion of the north was done pursuant to the two Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950. The successive governments of Japan hold that Japan pursues pacificism and has not a particular "hostile country", but it is natural that militarily the Japanese government and the Self-Defence Forces cannot but follow the plan for armed northward invasion regarding the DPRK as the imaginary "enemy", as long as the Japanese government offers bases to such bogus "UN forces" and the Self-Defence Forces are conducting joint operations with the US army which concurrently assumes the character of the bogus "UN forces".

Such position of the Japanese government and the Self-Defence Forces was defined by the 1960 second "Japan-US Security Treaty" ("Treaty on Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan" signed on 19 January 1960 and put into effect on 23 June the same year). The first "Japan-US Security Treaty" drew its greatest strength from the extension of military occupation, but lacked the provision for the active military role of the Japanese government and the Self-Defence Forces, though actually there existed already close relations between the US army, the Self-Defence Forces and the "ROK" army. However, the mention of it was made for the first time in the second "Japan-US Security Treaty".

WHAT WAS SHOWN BY PUEBLO INCIDENT

The Japanese Foreign Ministry holds that the action of the

bogus "UN forces" under the Security Council resolutions of June 1950 was limited to that time and that even if the Korean war would restart today, the bogus "UN forces" would not act under the resolutions on the basis of their same interpretation as at that time. It also explains that such a situation does not matter because the United Nations will take a new step to curb it or that there is nothing to worry since there is the Armistice Agreement on Korea. However, the "*Pueblo* incident" showed that such explanations were nothing more than sophistry which guarantees nothing.

In late January 1968 the *Pueblo*, an American spy ship, intruded into the territorial waters of the DPRK off Wonsan and was caught by the Navy of the Korean People's Army. On that occasion, the US government threateningly rushed the main force of the 7th Fleet including the nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to the Japan Sea, thereby creating a touch-and-go situation. In face of this, President Kim Il Sung of the DPRK clarified the policy of "answering a total war with a total war".

At that time the Pak regime sent a letter to the Chief of the Defence Agency of Japan in the name of the "Defence Minister" requesting military aid on the basis of the "joint policy declaration" of the bogus "UN forces" made on July 27, 1953.

JOINT POLICY DECLARATION CONCERNING THE KOREAN ARMISTICE

We the United Nations Members whose military forces are participating in the Korean action, support the decision of the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command to conclude an armistice agreement. We hereby affirm our determination fully and faithfully to carry out the terms of that armistice. We expect that the other parties to the agreement will likewise scrupulously observe its

terms.

The task ahead is not an easy one. We will support the efforts of the United Nations to bring about an equitable settlement in Korea based on the principles which have long been established by the United Nations, and which call for a united, independent and democratic Korea. We will support the United Nations in its efforts to assist the people of Korea in repairing the ravages of war.

We declare again our faith in the principles and purposes of the United Nations, our consciousness of continuing responsibilities in Korea, and our determination in good faith to seek a settlement of the Korean problem. We *affirm*, in the interest of world peace, that if there is a renewal of the armed attack, challenging again the principles of the United Nations, we should again be united and *prompt to resist*. The consequences of such a breach of the armistice would be so grave that, in all probability, *it would not be possible to confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea*. Finally, we are of the opinion that the armistice must not result in jeopardizing the restoration of the safeguarding of peace in any other part of Asia. (Italic is the quoter's.)

This "joint policy declaration" was made public at Washington on July 27, 1953, the day when the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed at Panmunjom. Later most of 16 signatories fell apart, but the *Pueblo* incident in 1968 proved that it was still effectual.

On March 22, two months after the incident of the *Pueblo*, the Japanese government (the Sato Eisaku government) in the Japanese Diet (House of Representatives) announced its following unified views:

"1. Minister Miki's reply of March 12 touches upon the relation in which the General Assembly, through its resolution 376 (V) of 7 October 1950, provided moral guarantee

for the UN forces' action across the 38th parallel.

2. From a strictly legal standpoint, the government views are:

(a) The Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950 recommend that Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore peace and security in the area, and accordingly, is construed as not excluding the UN forces' action across the 38th parallel when they considered it necessary for the above-mentioned purpose.

(b) The General Assembly resolution of 7 October 1950 is interpreted, with regard to the UN forces' action, as providing moral guarantee for the UN forces' action across the 38th parallel with the aforesaid Security Council resolutions as the background.

(c) Therefore, the Security Council resolutions should be interpreted as the legal ground for armed action across the 38th parallel."

The "Pak-Johnson joint statement" made public at the south Korea-US summit talks held in Hawaii on April 17 the same year also pointed out that President Johnson reaffirmed the US policy of continued adherence to the "joint policy declaration" signed on July 27, 1953, by the 16 countries which supported south Korea in the Korean war.

On the part of the US government, this "joint policy declaration" is paired with the "Korean Armistice Agreement" to form one set. Moreover, comparison between these two clearly shows that this "joint policy declaration" is based on the Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950 which the Japanese and US governments interpret as the UN Security Council's permission of armed attack on the north by the bogus "UN forces".

That being the case, in the event of another war it is impossible to effectuate the "UN's restraint" as believed by

the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Even supposing the Security Council intends to adopt a resolution on “restraint”, its resolution on armed attack on the north will be kept intact as long as the United States exercises the right of veto and, accordingly, it is impossible to prevent the “joint policy declaration” based on it from being invoked.

The argument that “it’s all right as there is the Armistice Agreement” will not hold water when that agreement is broken and a war is started. The “joint policy declaration” testifies to the US government’s aggressive policy of starting armed attack on the north at once in the event of another war.

Substitutes for the System of Aggressive UN Resolutions—Fusion of “Japan-US Security Treaty” and “ROK-US Mutual Defence Treaty”

Maintenance of the sham “UN forces” based on the system of aggressive resolutions on the Korean problem which were fabricated unlawfully during the Korean war has since the end of it been kept by the adoption every year of a joint resolution of which the United States and other participants in the war are the main cosponsors. Moreover, these yearly resolutions themselves were unlawful ones as they were adopted without the presence of the DPRK in the United Nations. However, in the 1960’s African countries became independent successively and the third world forces gathered their strength considerably on a worldwide scale. In the meantime, the DPRK’s achievements in the socialist revolution and socialist construction were gradually recognized internationally. As a result, the vote on the resolution “justifying” the maintenance of the bogus “UN forces” turned out more and more unfavourable to the US side every year. To check this tendency was one of the aims of the “Japan-South Korea Treaty” of 1965. Since the UN General

Assembly of 1966 the Japanese Government as one of the main cosponsors of the resolution of the US side took the lead in collecting votes. And such tendency became all the more pronounced.

The offshot is the "Japan-US Joint Statement" (Sato-Nixon joint statement) of 21 November 1969 which was designed to fuse the "Japan-US Security Treaty" and the "ROK-US Mutual Defence Treaty" in anticipation of a time when the US troops in south Korea and Japan are unable to use the name of the "UN forces". This is a combination of the "South Korea-US Mutual Defense Treaty" and the "Taiwan-US Mutual Defence Pact" through a substantial amendment of the "Japan-US Security Treaty" without changing its wordings by putting in it the so-called "paragraph on south Korea" and the "paragraph on Taiwan"—the new interpretation of the "Japan-US Security Treaty" based on the Nixon doctrine—and by returning the right to Okinawa's administration to the Japanese government by the US government. Here the "paragraph on Taiwan" is given a relatively light meaning in anticipation of the US-China approach based on the Nixon doctrine, but the "paragraph on south Korea" bears an important meaning. It took the form of being put in by the Japanese side. Follows the "paragraph on south Korea":

"The Prime Minister and the President paid particular attention to the fact that tension still exists on the Korean peninsula. The Prime Minister highly appreciated the United Nations' efforts for the preservation of peace on the Korean peninsula and said that the security of south Korea is essential to the security of Japan itself."

The "United Nations' efforts" means its yearly adoption of resolutions to justify the bogus "UN forces" based on the aforesaid system of aggressive resolutions adopted during the Korean war.

The Japanese side's interpretation of it was revealed by

Prime Minister Sato's speech at the National Press Club immediately after the publication of the joint statement. He said:

"In particular, if there is an armed attack on south Korea it will gravely affect the security of our country.

"Accordingly, if a situation is brought about in which an armed attack on south Korea takes place and the US army has to use facilities and areas in Japan as advance bases in order to cope with it, the Japanese government will decide positively and promptly on prior consultation on the basis of such understanding."

But the foreign affairs officials intentionally translated the word "positively" into "openly" in Japanese to make it ambiguous at home. Having confirmed this point more than once, US Under Secretary of State Johnson said on the same day that in the communique the general account was given to Japan's attitude during the consultation about Korea, Taiwan and the Middle East, but it was applicable not merely to Okinawa but also to the US base in south-east Japan proper and that there was some change in this respect.

This change, however, is considerable. You can grasp the import of Prime Minister Sato's explanation only when you put it and Under Secretary of State Johnson's explanation together. Under the "Japan-US Security Treaty" prior to the joint statement, the US troops could use the bases in Japan at their own discretion as during the Korean war as long as they remain the bogus "UN forces" However, with the establishment of the "paragraph on south Korea" and the return of the right to Okinawa's administration (in 1972) through this "joint statement", the US army is allowed to use the bases in Japan at its disposal for operations in Korea on the strength of combination of the "Japan-US Security Treaty" and the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty" even when it is deprived of the name of "UN forces" Moreover, Japan revealed her pos-

ture of co-operating positively with it on the aggressive interventional pretext that "the security of south Korea is essential to the security of Japan itself".

Prior to this "joint statement", of the Japanese territory only Okinawa under the administrating authority of the United States was to abide by the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty" (signed on 1 October 1953, effective on 17 November 1954, valid indefinitely). However, Under Secretary of State Johnson's explanation showed that with the application of the "Japan-US Security Treaty" after the return of the right to Okinawa's administration as a result of this "joint statement", the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty" is fused with it to place even the bases in Japan proper in the same treaty position as the base in Okinawa.

As for the Japanese and US governments, they are faced with the situation in which they have to give up the system of resolutions justifying the bogus "UN forces" as the votes on the Korean problem at the UN General Assembly turn out gradually unfavourable to the US side and this moral pressure has isolated the United States at the Security Council. That is why an attempt was made to directly connect the "Japan-US Security Treaty" and the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty" as a substitute for the bogus "UN forces" which have so far tied the US, Japan and south Korea together militarily.

Afterwards, the US government strongly and repeatedly urged the Japanese government informally that now that the "paragraph on south Korea" was set up, Japan should bear larger military burden for the maintenance of south Korea. Moreover, by letting the Japanese government say that "the maintenance of the US troops in south Korea is necessary for the security of Japan and Asia", it schemed to keep the US troops in south Korea. Such design was revealed all the more clearly by the so-called "new paragraph on south Korea" set in the "Japan-US joint press announcement" made in the wake of the Japan-US Summit Talks (Miki-Ford Talks) in August 1975.

“NEW PARAGRAPH ON SOUTH KOREA” AND AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF “TWO KOREAS” POLICY

In the “Japan-US joint press announcement” of August 6, 1975, issued after their talks in Washington on August 5 and 6, Prime Minister Miki and President Ford put forward the following so-called “new paragraph on south Korea” to cope with the situation following the overall victory of the Indo-chinese liberation forces:

“The Prime Minister and the President discussed various situations in Asia following the termination of armed dispute in Indochina. The President reaffirmed that the United States would continue to play an active and constructive role in this area and keep its treaty promise there, admitting that Asia was of importance for the peace and progress of the world. The Prime Minister and the President welcomed the efforts exerted by many Asian countries to the consolidation of their political, economic and social footings. Both of them said that both Japan and the United States were ready to render continued assistance and cooperation to such efforts. *Both persons reached an agreement on views that the security of south Korea is vital to the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula and that the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula is necessary for the peace and security of East Asia including Japan. Both persons paid attention to the importance assumed by the existing resolutions regarding the guaranteeing of security for the maintenance of such peace.* At the same time, both persons strongly hoped that dialogue will be promoted between the north and the south

to lessen the tension and, further, achieve peaceful unification. With regard to the Korean question at the United Nations, both persons expressed their hope that all the parties concerned will understand the importance of maintaining the system guaranteeing the present truce." (Italic is the quoter's.)

The italicized lines represent the "new paragraph on south Korea". Speaking of it at a press interview held right after its publication, Assistant Secretary of State Habib gave the following explanation of its background:

"Question: What does the United States expect of Japan in the event of military conflicts in Korea? Do you think Japan will keep friendly neutrality towards us?

"Answer: Let it be made clear. As it is specifically pointed out in the joint press announcement—if observed carefully—I want you to pay attention to that clause. There are some meaningful wordings, though, of course, there is a fully clear meaning as far as the question you have raised is concerned. There is a sentence, first, which runs, 'Both persons reached an agreement on views that the security of south Korea is vital to the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula and that the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula is necessary for the peace and security of East Asia including Japan.' And the following sentence runs, 'Both persons paid attention to the importance assumed by the existing resolutions regarding the guaranteeing of security for the maintenance of such peace.' *The existing resolutions regarding the guaranteeing of security include the Japan-US Security Treaty, to say nothing of the presence of US troops in Korea, Armistice Agreement and the US army's occupation of Japan. In this respect, I think, you can understand the meanings of these sentences.*" (Italic is the quoter's. Translated from Japanese—Tr.)

Of the US troops' presence in south Korea (1), the armistice agreement (2) and the Japan-US Security Treaty (3), the US troops' presence in south Korea (1) is justified by the UN Security Council resolutions (25 and 27 June and 7 July 1950) and the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty." If viewed from the circumstances since the institution of the "paragraph on south Korea" in 1969, it would be proper to say that the centre of gravity is shifted to the latter here. However, the US government still does not intend to renounce even the false name of the "UN forces" based on the Security Council resolutions; it seeks to use it as a means of dealings for the promotion of the "two Koreas" policy.

This "background explanation" reveals the fact that the Japanese and US governments are following the policy of combining the "Japan-US Security Treaty" and the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty" and thereby maintaining the "Armistice Agreement". The "Armistice Agreement" was an agreement for suspension of fighting, which was to foresee the possibility of its resumption. And, with the institution of the "paragraph on south Korea", the Japanese and US governments decided to change the organizations of joint operational consultation by the US and Japanese militarymen, which had been set up on a permanent basis and run secretly since the conduct of the "Study of Three Arrows" in 1963, into a formal, government level military consultative body so that the Chief of the Defence Agency and the US Secretary of Defence would hold regular consultations and that, at the same time, it might operate as a permanent organ of military consultation by the Japanese and American officers.

This Japan-US military consultative body is expected to start functioning in 1976. It appears that the body will have under it sub-committees such as public peace, transport, weather, science and technology and other necessary sub-committees and includes in its duty the investigation and consultation of "national mobilization" for joint Japan-US operations in

Korea.

“At present the Foreign Ministry and the Defence Agency are mapping out a basic plan for the consultative body, and we are going to set up sub-committees for such special fields if necessary.” “If there is an armed attack on Japan, it is likely to cause an internal confusion, so I think measures should naturally be taken for maintenance of public peace.” And as for the requisition for materials and transport means needed in the “defence mobilization” of the Self-Defence Forces, there are still defects such as the lack of a government ordinance as regards Article 103 of the Law on Self-Defence Forces, but in that respect, “there are many pending problems which Japan must solve for herself.” (Reply of Chief of the Department of the Defence Agency Maruyama at the House of Representatives Standing Committee for the Cabinet on December 11, 1975.)

The Japanese side lacks such a structure, but the US troops in Japan and south Korea whose presence there is justified by the “Japan-US Security Treaty” and the “South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty” are perfecting their structure by frequently mapping out the following operational plans after the institution of the “new paragraph on south Korea”. The character of the operations is also a succession to those of the Security Council resolutions of 25 and 27 June 1950 and of the “joint policy declaration” of 27 July 1953.

“According to a radio from Seoul, war maniac Hollingsward, Commander of the ‘ROK-US First Army Corps’, which is the united armed force of the US aggressive occupationist troops in south Korea and the south Korean puppet army, has recently blared openly that he was ‘planning for northward march’ across the Military Demarcation Line by the ‘armed force of the ROK-US First Army Corps’.” It is reported that this war-like utterance of the US imperialist war maniac has been carried in the US *Chicago Daily News* and the January 1 issue of *Los Angeles Times*. Talking about the non-existent ‘southward

aggression of the north Korean army' in order to craftily justify his outrageous utterance on war provocation, Hollingsward said that he was going to 'get the infantry to solidify its positions first' and 'let it actually mount an attack across the truce line'. The nonsensical talk of this bellicose US imperialist murderous general, in effect, revealed his intention to *order his aggressive troops and the puppet army to invade the north actually according to the well-calculated and prepared original plan for aggression while outwardly giving it a semblance of 'defence' against the 'southward aggression' from the north.*" (From a commentary of the KCNA from Pyongyang, the DPRK, January 6, 1976. Italic is the quoter's.)

The January 8, 1976, issue of *Hanguk Ilbo* carried the January 3 report of the *UPI* from Washington under the title, "Counterattack across Truce Line in the Event of Southward Invasion; Hollingsward, Commander of ROK-US First Army Corps; Possibility of Annihilation by 7-Day Battle."

It was at the end of August, 1975, when US Secretary of Defence Schlesinger visited Japan and south Korea that the fact that the "ROK-US First Army Corps Commander's" plan for aggressive war had been formally approved by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff was made public. His visit to Japan and south Korea was designed to embody the so-called "New paragraph on south Korea" confirmed at the Miki-Ford Japan-US Summit talks held in early August.

Besides the above-mentioned war plan for "annihilation of north Korea in 7 days," there are reports on "9-day" or "5-day" plans. According to aforesaid *Hanguk Ilbo*, Schlesinger was said to have given instructions as to drawing up such a war plan as to "finish the war within two weeks" at any rate. And US President Ford and Secretary of Defence Schlesinger's reiteration of the "nuclear containment attack" blackmail in the first half of 1975 reminds us of the fact that US President Truman had employed the same blackmail during the Korean

war. What is different from then is that today many nuclear warheads are in fact deployed in south Korea.

(According to what was said by Dr. Robert Berman of the Bruckings Institute on October 9, 1975, the US troops in south Korea keep 720 nuclear warheads at the maximum, the total power being 13,000 kilotons, or 600 times that of the atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima.)

The US troops in Okinawa, which are directly connected with those in south Korea, have been reinforced as heavily as at the time of the Vietnamese war (but reorganized for operations in Korea), and since 1976 they have been frequently called out to south Korea for military manoeuvres.

“TWO KOREAS” POLICY CONFLICTING WITH FUNDAMENTAL NATIONAL RIGHTS

Such military blackmail of the US imperialists must be considered to be closely related to the “two Koreas” policy of the Japanese and US governments.

The present “two Koreas” policy is in a way based on the lessons drawn from the defeat in the Vietnamese war.

In the Vietnamese war, too, the US government justified its aggression on the pretext of opposing the “aggression from the north” and fulfilling its promise given to its puppet government in the south. But that insidious propaganda met with a complete defeat in face of the insistence of the north and south Vietnamese liberation forces based on the international law on “fundamental national rights” and the US government was isolated internationally. The term “fundamental national rights” has become a terminology widely recognized in international law through the Vietnamese war. What the Vietnamese liberation forces claimed was the right to “independence, sovereignty, reunification, territorial integrity” and the establishment of the

“right to self-determination of the south Vietnamese people”.

Today, in its aggression on Korea US imperialism is still trumpeting the hackneyed propaganda about the “threat from the north,” which during the Korean war was effective along with scheme of misusing the United Nations, but it is getting less effective in face of the following claim of the Korean people for fundamental national rights:

“The Democratic People’s Republic of Korea strives to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half, drive out foreign forces on a national scale, reunify the country peacefully on a democratic basis and attain complete national independence.” (*Article 5 of the DPRK Socialist Constitution.*)

The “General Declaration” adopted at the “World Conference of Lawyers Supporting the Korean People in Their Struggle for the Independence and Peaceful Reunification of the Country” held in Damascus on October 25 and 26, 1975, explains:

“The question of Korea’s reunification is essentially a question of reunifying the territory and population whose division was unduly maintained by the foreign imperialists and ensuring national sovereignty on a nationwide scale.

“The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the Korean people, from the first day of the country’s division, have put forward the just line on reunifying the country independently without interference of outside forces, in a peaceful way and on the principle of democracy and waged a vigorous struggle for its realization.

“This line is in full conformity with the contemporary principles of international law and of friendly relations among States which proclaim the full and inalienable national rights of every people, the right to self-determina-

tion of peoples, the right of non-interference in the internal affairs of peoples, the principle of prohibition to recourse to armed force, the principle of good faith and the principle of pacific settlement of disputes.”

With a view to trample upon such fundamental national rights of the Korean people, the Japanese and US governments persist in the “two Koreas” policy as a substitute for the crumbling system of UN resolutions. The objective is to turn the Military Demarcation Line between the north and the south into the “frontier” by mutual approval of both parts. In that case, the interference and aggression under the “Japan-US Security Treaty” and the “South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty” will be “legalized” even if the aggressive resolutions of the UN Security Council were abandoned. It will lead to legalizing the suppression of the people’s struggle for the establishment in south Korea of the national sovereignty on the basis of the Juche idea on the pretext of it being the “interference in the internal affairs”, thereby escaping international criticism. This, in the long run, will “perpetuate” the already frozen north-south division. Such is what the “two Koreas” policy of the Japanese and US governments is aiming at today.

To achieve that objective, they are employing every available pressure, tough or mild. The chief means of it are the operations for armed aggression against the north and the military nuclear blackmails as mentioned above. The “two Koreas’ simultaneous entry” into the United Nations, “South Korea’s separate entry” into it, “cross-recognition of the north and the south by the four Powers—China, the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan”, etc. are all such means. As another such means I can cite the south Korean “government’s” proposal for “non-aggression agreement” presupposing the maintenance of the “Armistice Agreement” (stationing of the US troops) and the Japanese government’s expansion of contacts with the DPRK which presupposes the non-recognition of the DPRK while keeping the “Japan-south Korea treaty” system and per-

sistently supporting the south Korean "government".

The recommendation for holding "north-south dialogue" on the basis of maintaining the puppet regime's fascist system in the south is also one of such means. And the machination of the Japanese and south Korean reactionary forces to deprive the Korean nationals in Japan of their fundamental national rights is a link in the chain of the machination.

As can be seen, the present "two Koreas" policy is not a mere hostile policy, but is assuming an increasingly neo-colonialist character. Therefore, it is necessary for the Japanese people as well as the Korean people not to be dazzled by its superficial diversity but to see through its true nature and cope with it prudently.

Viewed in this light, we can see clearly what is the aim of the resolution which the Japanese and US governments as the leading cosponsors submitted to the UN General Assembly in 1975 to counter the resolution favouring the DPRK.

RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY COUNTRIES FAVOURING THE DPRK

The General Assembly,

Noting that the reunification of Korea has not yet been achieved although thirty years have elapsed since Korea was divided into the North and the South and twenty-two years since the establishment of the armistice in Korea,

Recalling the obligations assumed by States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations on respect for the principle of equality and self-determination of peoples and on refraining from intervening in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any State,

Considering that it conforms with the principles of the Charter to encourage the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country

at the earliest possible date on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and to create favourable conditions for it,

Hoping that the North and the South of Korea will accelerate the reunification of the country in accordance with the spirit of the joint statement of 4 July 1972 and with the decision adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, on 28 November 1973, which welcomed the joint statement,

Considering that a durable peace cannot be expected so long as the present state of armistice is kept as it is in Korea,

Considering that, in order to guarantee a durable peace in Korea and accelerate its independent and peaceful reunification, it is urgently necessary to take new decisive measures for terminating foreign interference in its internal affairs, removing tension and preventing armed conflicts in that region,

1. Considers that it is necessary to dissolve the "United Nations Command" and withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;

2. Calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Military Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement as a measure to ease tension and maintain and consolidate peace in Korea;

3. Urges the North and the South of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation and maintain a durable peace in Korea, conducive to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

It is self-evident that this resolution is in favour of the aforesaid establishment of the Korean people's fundamental national rights and aims at creating international situation for guaranteeing their realization.

The recommendation for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from north and south Korea was already made clear in paragraph 60, Article IV of the Korean Armistice Agreement in 1953. It says:

“In order to ensure the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the military Commanders of both sides hereby recommend to the Governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three (3) months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held by representatives appointed respectively to settle through negotiation the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.”

This notwithstanding, the United States unilaterally broke up the political conference held in Geneva in 1954 and brought the Korean question to the United Nations again in contravention of this recommendation. The Korean side, however, carried out and fulfilled the first aim of this recommendation without waiting for the convocation of the political conference, through the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers in October 1958. Accordingly, the United States government has ever since come to assume the legal and moral obligations to withdraw the US troops from south Korea at an early date and ensure the fundamental national rights of the Korean people. Until today, however, the United States has been evading that responsibility (withdrawal of US troops), which only proves that it does not show sincerity in fulfilling the most important provision of the Armistice Agreement.

Here is the resolution favouring south Korea which was

submitted to the 1975 General Assembly by the side of Japan and the United States which has so long violated the Armistice Agreement:

The General Assembly,

Mindful of the hope expressed by it in resolution 3333 (XXIX) of 17 December 1974,

Desiring that progress be made towards the attainment of the goal of peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people,

Recalling its satisfaction with the issuance of the joint communique at Seoul and Pyongyang on 4 July 1972 and the declared intention of both the South and the North of Korea to continue the dialogue between them,

Further recalling that, by its resolution 711 of 28 August 1953, the General Assembly noted with approval the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953, and that, in its resolution 811 of 11 December 1954, it expressly took note of the provision of the Armistice Agreement which requires that the Agreement shall remain in effect until expressly superseded either by mutually acceptable amendments and additions or by provisions in an appropriate agreement for a peaceful settlement at a political level between both sides,

Aware, however, that tension in Korea has not been totally eliminated and that the Armistice Agreement remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area,

Noting the letter of 27 June 1975, addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Government of the United States of America, affirming that it is prepared to terminate the United Nations Command on 1 January 1976, provided that the other parties directly concerned reach agreement on alternative arrangements mutually acceptable to them for maintaining the Armistice Agree-

ment,

Noting the statement of 27 June, 1975 by the Government of the Republic of Korea affirming its willingness to enter into arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has a continuing responsibility to ensure the attainment of this goal on the Korean peninsula,

1. Reaffirms the wishes of its members, as expressed in the consensus statement adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973, and urges both the South and the North of Korea to continue their dialogue to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea;

2. Expresses the hope that all the parties directly concerned will enter into negotiations on new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement, reduce tensions and ensure lasting peace in the Korean peninsula;

3. Urges all the parties directly concerned, as a first step, bearing in mind the need to ensure continued observation of the Armistice Agreement and the full maintenance of peace and security in the region, to embark on talks as soon as possible so that the United Nations Command may be dissolved concurrently with arrangements for maintaining the Armistice Agreement;

4. Expresses the further hope that these discussions will be completed and alternative arrangements for the maintenance of the Armistice Agreement will be made in order that the United Nations Command may be dissolved on 1 January 1976 so that by that date no armed forces under the United Nations flag will remain in South Korea.

This resolution is logically defective in itself. Insistence on the maintenance of the "Armistice Agreement" and the

denial of a peace agreement is at once tantamount to insisting on the continuation of the system of preparations for another war; it is inconsistent with the peace claim. And, since the "Armistice Agreement" was signed by the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Commander of the "UN forces", the insistence on the maintenance of the "Armistice Agreement" is nothing but an insistence on the maintenance of the "UN forces", and this proves the falsehood of the proposal on the dissolution of the "UN Command". While supporting the "North-South Joint Statement" of 4 July 1972, they instituted the new "paragraph on south Korea" and agreed upon backing the "Armistice Agreement" with the "Japan-US Security Treaty" and the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty". This is, in every point, nothing more than the obstruction of independence of the north and the south and their peaceful dialogue and an interference in the principle of national self-determination by means of keeping the US troops in south Korea. They do not leave the north-south dialogue to the Korean nation itself on the one hand and, on the other, they try to draw the "representative of the south Korean army" controlled by the US troops in the "negotiations on new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement." This also is aimed in the long run at denying the Korean nation's right to self-determination and gaining international recognition of the interference by the "Japan-US Security Treaty" and the "South Korea-US Mutual Defence Treaty".

Frustration of such unreasonable aggressive assertion is not only necessary in guaranteeing the fundamental national right of the Korean people, but also an inalienable, urgent duty of Japan herself in carrying out the principle of national sovereignty and promoting her progress towards democracy, peace and neutrality.

SOCIALIST AND NON-ALIGNED FORCES SHOULD UNITE AND RENDER ACTIVE HELP TO THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA



JOE VELLA

Editor of Malta News

The great leader Kim Il Sung is leading his country, a country with a glorious history of bitter struggle and bloodshed for its reunification and to free it from the imperialist domination.

The Korean people are a shining example to the world at large, struggling to liberate their country from the imperialist and reactionary forces and racism. In fact, many countries have a moving history of struggle and suffering in the cause of freedom and socialist ideals.

Malta has suffered under the yoke of the privileged and reactionary forces who always took advantage of the good character and nature of the Maltese people during its sacred struggle for full democracy, social progress and peace for our people. Malta has succeeded to put into practice its strong beliefs for a Malta free from foreign domination. Our struggle, how-

ever, will find its reward in two years' time, when the last foreign soldier leaves our shores and Malta would then become truly independent.

We believe that the socialist and non-aligned forces must unite to help bring about the reunification of Korea. A united Korea will make a great contribution to world peace and will serve as an inspiration for other countries which are struggling to shake off colonialism and neo-colonialism for the attainment of true independence, free from the continued presence of foreign powers.

We feel certain that they will urge their governments and public organizations to take the necessary measures to ensure that south Korea will be freed from foreign armed forces. The Korean people's struggle for unity is shared by all of us, indeed. Malta, which holds the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a true and respected friend, fully backs the road the people of this country have chosen. It has given it moral support and will continue to contribute until final victory is achieved.

This can only be achieved through the Juche idea, which means, as the great leader himself said, that the masters of the revolution and construction are the masses of the people and that they are also the motive force of the revolution and construction, in other words, that one is responsible for one's own destiny and that one has also the capacity for hewing out one's own destiny.

Korea which has been divided into the north and the south by the United States imperialist aggressors has faced tremendous problems, but under the leadership of their beloved and respected leader, Kim Il Sung, and their Party with revolutionary awareness, the Korean people have displayed a determined force which has stood up successfully to the most difficult and arduous conditions.

From a backward country with no experience in running the state or the economy, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had started building a new country on the road of

socialism, which is free from oppression and exploitation.

This entailed huge problems, made worse by the bitter war against the United States imperialists and aggressors when Korea was reduced to ashes, when factories, houses, hospitals and all the property of the workers and peasants were destroyed.

The Korean people have succeeded not only in transforming the economy but in building a new one based on socialist principles, the only guarantee to the people's successes.

We are convinced, like the Korean people, that the most correct stand and attitude to maintain in the revolution and construction is to settle all problems in the interests of the people and in conformity with the specific conditions of the country, believing and relying on one's own strength with the consciousness as the masters of revolution.

The great leader Kim Il Sung has said that the revolution has traversed and is traversing a very complicated and difficult road. But the Korean people are succeeding because whenever they were confronted with difficulties and ordeals, they maintained the attitude of a master toward the revolution and thereby they achieved glorious victories. This process made their conviction still more unshakable—a conviction that only by firmly relying on the Juche idea can one thoroughly adhere to the revolutionary stand of the working class and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the realities of one's country.

We are convinced that the Korean people are well equipped to follow their leader and to plan their destiny according to their wishes.

The Korean people have in the past won great victories because they always believed in the strength of the people, and because they displayed the zeal and creative activity which helped solve the problems arising out of the revolution. The great leader Kim Il Sung has for many years fought for freedom for his people. Their fight against imperialism is to liberate their nation from the yoke of the foreigners, for when

a man is deprived of his freedom, there is little to distinguish him from an animal.

Economic self-support is the material base of political independence because a country which depends on others economically cannot be independent politically. Only an economically independent nation can plan its own destiny without having to submit itself to blackmail of the imperialist forces.

This is why the respected leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, has laid strong emphasis on the Juche idea, for this has been embodied as the principle of independence in politics.

Their country has struggled and adopted a consistent line for independence in politics and self-reliance in economy and self-defence in national defence. One is not complete without the other.

The peoples of various countries in the world express solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people for making the foreign troops withdraw from south Korea and reunifying peacefully on a democratic basis the country which has been divided for many years to serve the interests of United States imperialism.

The legitimate desire of the Korean people is to restore their country's national unity peacefully as agreed in 1972, but unfortunately no progress has been made five years later due to the imperialist forces who are still seeking to divide and rule.

Consistent support towards a peaceful reunification is given to the Korean people by progressive and socialist organizations around the world. Malta is playing its role to help the Korean people because the Maltese, who themselves have been shackled by colonialism and imperialism, share the noble views of the people of Korea.

Due to the growth of the economic and defence power of the third world countries and of the socialist communities and their close collaboration and cooperation combined with their joint efforts in the international arena, it has become possible in recent years to bring about a favourable interna-

tional situation.

This advantageous process is embracing new spheres of relations between states and is now spreading to other areas of the world and so creating better possibilities for the settlement of outstanding issues, not only in the Asian region but also in our part of the world where the tensions in the Middle East and Cyprus have been of great concern to us.

However, in the present conditions it has become particularly urgent to settle peacefully the Korean problem, to remove tensions on the Korean peninsula, and to create conditions in which the Korean people can decide their future, including the most important issue of all—the reunification of the country—freely, independently, peacefully and without foreign interference.

In 1972, by the political initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a dialogue for this purpose was started and an agreement was reached on setting up a North-South Coordinating Commission.

However, the Seoul puppet regime, inspired and backed by the Japanese and American imperialists, has adopted a line of disrupting these attempts at peaceful reunification. Owing to the negative and obstructionist position of the south Korean side the agreements laid out in the Joint Statement still remain unfulfilled.

The developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and socialist countries made every effort to help put an end to the imperialist interference in the internal affairs of peoples and bring about positive results.

Malta was among the countries which made recommendations at the United Nations in support of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to get the foreign troops withdrawn from south Korea and so create the conditions conducive to a peaceful democratic reunification of the country.

However, it is becoming more clear each day that the greatest obstacle in the way of a peaceful reunification is the

presence of foreign troops in south Korea. The stubbornness of the south Korean regime has not only impeded progress but is actually responsible for the negative stand of south Korea which has prevented the chances of progress and has complicated the road to the restoration of the national unity of Korea.

But, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has voiced its intention to continue to work for a favourable situation for reunification on the Korean peninsula.

The recent news, however, that the imperialist American government is to give millions of dollars worth of equipment, including war weapons, to the puppet regime in south Korea will no doubt inspire the people of Korea to continue with more determination to reunify the country.

The successes scored in the upbuilding of socialism in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the great efforts of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea to reduce tension in the Korean peninsula and ensure the peaceful work of the Korean people will continue for years to come.

Together with other socialist countries and progressive forces, Malta will continue to uphold the interests of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the international arena and will never cease its efforts towards this direction to help ensure the triumph of the just cause of the Korean people.

To the Korean people, our best wishes for a successful peaceful reunification under their most beloved and respected leader President Kim Il Sung and for a permanent freedom pursuant to the socialist ideal.

FUTURE FATHERLAND IS ONE



GENARO CARNERO CHECA

Secretary-General, Latin-American Federation
of Journalists

The great leader President Kim Il Sung has taught:

"The most important problem arising at the present stage of the Korean revolution is to achieve the country's reunification. It is the greatest desire and supreme revolutionary task of our nation to reunify the divided country."

"Ours is a single nation with 5,000 years of history; it is a valorous, ambitious nation that has been vigorously fighting against foreign invaders and successive reactionary rulers from olden times; and it is a talented nation that has contributed greatly to mankind's development of science and culture." (Kim Il Sung, *On Juche in Our Revolution*, Eng. ed., Vol. 1, p. 89.)

Of these two propositions, the first is what was told to me by Marshal Kim Il Sung who does all his thinking and activities with prudence and deep conviction. It is undoubtedly a clear definition of the actual conditions and prospect of the Korean revolution.

The second is also a careful and correct definition of the

supreme task of the Korean revolution.

On one occasion, in connection with this problem he, I remember, told me that the blood flowing in one vein was inseparable.

This is the unanimous feeling exciting all the Koreans, man and woman, young and old. It is also the greatest national aspiration and the most ardent wish. Men are working, storing all wealth and provisions in order to give a rich present to their south Korean brothers on the day of reunification. Women are dreaming the day when they will establish a bond of affection so beautiful and deep as the breast-ties of their graceful national costume of different colours. The children wish to play together in the same playing ground and feed the birds of the fatherland together.

To reunify Korea, her people, their labour, road, song and flag—this is the greatest desire of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Kim Il Sung and the people of this country.

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At one time in bygone days there existed such steel-like, brilliant unity in the Koryo Kingdom which left a deep mark on Korean history.

And it was fully maintained even through centuries of battles against the invaders who wanted to seize her rivers and mountains. Even in the struggle against feudal Ching's invasion and in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists and the villainous Yankees, the unity of the Korean people, their blood flowing in the same veins, was never split in spite of the imaginary frontier, wire entanglements and guns.

Thus, the policies of the Japanese imperialists, US imperialists and the traitors to the nation, the virtual Cains and the stooges of imperialism, who preach, advocate and want to impose "two Koreas" in all domains—territory, flag, internal and external policies and even customs—are rejected and con-

demned by the present builders of socialism under the government headed by Marshal Kim Il Sung, that is, by the true Koreans on the peninsula and overseas, generating the hatred of the brothers.

Nothing is more disgusting in Korea than the wild dreams about division and "two Koreas".

It is because it means an anti-patriotic, anti-national and anti-historic heart-rending reality, means outside manoeuvres, foreign pressure on the Korean people and interference in the life and dream of the children on the same land.

All the blame falls upon US imperialist pressure.

The nefarious Yankees are entirely responsible for the continuation of division up to this date for more than 30 years full of vices.

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This history of divisive manoeuvres is known as a complete record of all malpractices of the Americans who impose that division and obstruct reunification.

In contrast, the consistent attitude of the DPRK Government, its people, army, the Party and their leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung in favour of reunification stands out in marked relief.

The people of the world thought the building of a new fatherland, a new Korea, would start on a nationwide scale on the peninsula, from August 15, 1945, the day of liberation of the country by the guerrillas who defeated Japanese imperialism.

However, timing with this, the south was occupied by the Yankees, and a tragedy was thus started.

The division made for both sides of the 38th parallel as a mere transitional measure in every point, became an eternal one due to the troops of MacArthur. They prevented the people in the southern half from participating in the people's committees, the organs of power set up all over the country, and sup-

porting the unified leadership of Marshal Kim Il Sung. Nevertheless, a nationwide election of deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly was held in Korea in defiance of the suppression by US imperialism in which 99.97 per cent of the electorate in the north and 77.52 per cent in the south participated. In May 1948 a puppet "government" was rigged up in south Korea in league with the Japanese who had restored all their colonial privileges.

South Korea was turned into a source of provocations and fascist aggression against the north, i.e., the DPRK which was born in September 1948 as the sole, genuine representative of the entire Korean people.

This aggression culminated in the dirty war declared in 1950 by US imperialism and its stooges. This plunged Korea, divided into two parts, into a mire of tragedy and death.

Three years later, on July 27, 1953 the DPRK and its army emerged victorious in the war, but the fatherland remained divided as ever.

Comrade Kim Il Sung set out on the work of reconstructing the Republic and, at the same time, consistently advocated reunification, putting forward most fair proposals for it.

All the Korean people in the north and south admitted their validity and supported them. In particular, the people in the south did so even under the circumstances where a mere utterance of reunification would incur great calamity.

For the Americans, reunification means a loss of large property, the loss of the land in the south of the peninsula which is armed to the teeth and which enables them to watch all the revolutionary changes in Asia and attack it.

All the commitments of the Carter Administration concerning the withdrawal of the US troops from south Korea are nothing more than a false propaganda and a dark smoke-screen laid down by Pentagon.

For the Japanese, too, the reunification of Korea means ruining all their business (the trade zone) which has so far been under the protection of the stained Stars and Stripes.

Marshal Kim Il Sung elucidated the following three basic principles for reunification for all the Korean people:

- Firstly, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;
- Secondly, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;
- Thirdly, great national unity as one nation should be promoted first of all, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and social system.

To remove the north-south confrontation which constitutes the principal focus of the divisive crisis, Marshal Kim Il Sung put forward the following five-point proposal:

1. To cease the reinforcement of armies and arms race;
2. To reduce the armed forces of the north and south to 100,000 or less respectively and curtail armament;
3. To stop the introduction of weapons and war materiel from abroad;
4. To make all foreign troops including the US army withdraw from south Korea;
5. To conclude a peace agreement guaranteeing the solution of the above matters and the disuse of armed forces against each other.

These proposals enjoyed sympathy of all the Korean people including the south Koreans and the people of the whole world. People in different areas, the socialist countries and intellectuals rendered their support to the proposals, maintaining that the south Korean puppet regime should come out to hold a dialogue with the representatives of the Government of the DPRK.

This gave birth to the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement for the early carrying out of the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity laid down by Marshal Kim Il Sung and to the setting up of

the North-South Coordination Committee.

However, the south Korean puppets and their followers ignored all this. They intensified barbarous suppression of the south Korean patriots aspiring after reunification, and the Seoul "regime" headed by Pak Jung Hi was reduced to a den of all kinds of foul dealings and a congregation of US stooges in Asia.

Their provocation did not cease with this.

The south Korean colonial regime has called for "two Koreas" representation in the United Nations. This means nothing else than a divisive manoeuvre. The DPRK frustrated this manoeuvre, and with a view to achieving unity, proposed anew to make all necessary advance, convene a Great National Congress consisting of representatives of all strata and establish the Confederal Republic of Koryo which has precedent in history as a single government for UN membership. This Confederal Republic presupposes to retain the present different political systems of the north and south as long as the people wish it.

However, the puppets and their followers gave no response at all.

South Korea has been turned into a place of the greatest danger of a war in the Asian continent that may involve the use of atomic weapons by the US imperialists.

In order to cope with this situation which would bring about an irretrievable disaster, in January 1977 all the political parties and social organizations in the DPRK sent a letter to political parties, social organizations, personages of all walks of life in south Korea and overseas nationals proposing to resume negotiations for reunification and peace.

The letter pointed out:

1. A great alliance of the socialist forces of the north and the patriotic democratic forces of the south desirous of reunification must be realized;
2. The tension between the north and the south must be

- eased and the danger of a nuclear war removed;
3. The source of a discord within the nation must be removed and an atmosphere of great national unity be created;
 4. A north-south political consultative conference composed of representatives of all the political parties, public organizations and people of all strata in the north and the south must be convened to have consultation about all the above-mentioned questions.

All the attendants of the meeting and patriotic people declared as follows:

"If the present south Korean authorities withdraw the 'two Koreas' policy, renounce 'anti-communism', stop the suppression of the patriotic people and democratic personages and give up the war policy enforced under the pretext of the 'threat of southward invasion', we will again sit knee to knee with them and will not oppose their participation in the political consultative conference."

History is waiting for an answer....

Reunification is the key problem in the light of the national and international struggle of the Korean people and the Korean revolution. In the north socialist construction is going on. Meanwhile, the DPRK is supporting the patriotic movement of the south Korean people and strengthening its friendship with the revolutionary people of all countries of the world. This represents a bulwark of progress.

The DPRK has joined in the non-alignment movement, and its member states rejected the admission of the puppet south Korean regime. Scores of countries have established brotherly relations with the DPRK and admire and praise the Juche-oriented leadership over the Korean revolution. The 30th UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea by the overwhelming majority.

Houari Boumedienne, President of the People's and Democratic Republic of Algeria, pointed out:

"Thanks to the leadership of President Kim Il Sung and

the Juche idea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has become a pride of the third world."

Marshal Kim Il Sung, who knows its historic cause better than anyone else, remarked on this in another form of expression and on the epoch-making events:

"...our country has finally done away with the economic and technical backwardness it inherited from the old society and has joined the ranks of the advanced countries of the world as a full-fledged member. Our people, never again to suffer all those insults and contempts because of their backward economy, can now proudly enter the international arena as a mighty and advanced nation on an equal basis with all the other nations of the world, large and small." (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. V, pp. 419-20.)

Socialism has now become a steel-like base for this revolution and its leader.

It is in this invincible, creative and brilliant base that Marshal Kim Il Sung reviewed the achievements of the past with great pride and could look into the future with conviction and satisfaction.

Revering his image, I dedicate this militant, revolutionary, friendly and simple writing.

(From Genaro Carnero Checa's *Kim Il Sung, A Life Devoted to Socialism* printed by Noal Publishing House, Mexico.)

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